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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF ADOLESCENTS
IN GLASGOW AND IN TAIPEI

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Submitted for the Degree of Ph.D. at the University of Glasgow

June, 1973

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孔子

論語陽貨篇

"BY NATURE, MEN ARE REALLY ALIKE;

BY PRACTICE, THEY GET TO BE WIDE APART"

-----Confucius-----

(Confucian Analects, XVII, 2)

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SUMMARY

In this study, over 900 adolescent pupils from secondary schools in the Glasgow area, Scotland, and in Taipei, Republic of China, were tested. The sample was equally divided by sex with the age ranging from 12 to 15. The objective of this research was to make a comparative study of their social attitudes.

Three psychological instruments were used: a semantic differential, an incomplete sentence blank and a set of four TAT pictures. They were selected because of their "culturally fair" contents and their suitability for group administration. The fact that these tests contained little or no verbal content and required, therefore, only a small amount of translation was regarded as an important criterion because translation often causes a great deal of complication in cross-cultural studies.

The results of the three tests from the two groups of adolescents were analysed and inter-group comparisons were made (Chapter V). Equal emphasis was given to both group differences and similarities. This is, in fact, one important feature of this research. Many investigators who have been engaged in cross-cultural studies tend to focus their attention on the differences between groups. Not infrequently a statistically significant inter-group difference has been over emphasised and interpreted as a wide discrepancy between two groups even though the actual difference is quantitatively very small. In fact, information about some group differences and that which is related to group similarities are equally useful. But evidence of group similarities could be specially helpful in eliminating some of the arbitrary inter-group barriers and in bringing peoples from various cultures closer to one another. The graph presentations of the semantic differential ratings give a very clear view of both group differences and similarities.

The interpretations of the major findings were presented in Chapter VI. While the importance of childhood experiences in relation to the development of attitudes was fully recognised, the effect of school education on attitude formation was also stressed. It is hoped

that this may give school teachers some insight into the fact that development is a continuous process throughout the entire period of life and make them aware of their possible contribution in guiding the young to develop healthy attitudes.

When the data from the three instruments were put together, some important results were revealed. The Chinese and Scottish adolescents showed many common characteristics: (1) they both showed positive attitudes towards people in general, towards the world, and towards the future; (2) they had common perceptual predispositions in reacting to ambiguous stimuli; (3) they tended to use the semantic differential scales in a similar manner; and (4) they both had the capacity to subdue themselves to rules and restrictions when required.

The two groups were also different from each other in several aspects: the Chinese tended to have global, whole perception whereas the Scots tended to perceive parts; the Chinese often adopted a general, abstract approach in dealing with their problems while the Scottish pupils adopted more frequently specific and concrete approaches; and the Chinese showed a greater tendency to be dependent and to have greater self control when their Scottish counterparts gave greater value to independence and individual freedom.

One more important finding was that the two languages, English and Chinese, had a very similar semantic structure when the data of the semantic differential of the two groups were factor analysed.

1.1 The Objective of the Present Study

The nature of the present research, as its title clearly indicates, is a cross-cultural study. Its main objective is to investigate, by using a battery of carefully selected instruments, the social attitudes of junior high school pupils in the Glasgow area, Scotland, and in Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China. The selection of these national groups for a comparative study is not based on any theoretical foundation, but mainly resulted from some practical reasons.

One obvious reason is that there has been very little inter-communication between the two peoples, Scots and Chinese, and it naturally follows that there is not much mutual understanding between them. An average Scot does not know exactly where Taiwan is, what kind of life the Chinese people have there, and whether people in Taiwan are like those who work in the Chinese restaurants in Glasgow. Likewise, an ordinary Chinese does not know much about Scotland either. Chinese school children have probably been told the famous story of King Robert the Bruce of Scotland who learned his important lesson from the perseverance of a spider in a cave after he had been repeatedly defeated by the English. But most of the adults in China can only associate Scotland with either Scotland Yard or Scotch whisky. The two peoples really know very little about one another.

There has not been any comparative study which involves both the Chinese and the Scottish peoples. Interestingly enough, Scots have rarely been made subjects in cross-cultural studies. Perhaps that is due partly to the ignorance of investigators from other countries who have regarded Britain as one nation which is represented by English people and partly to their laziness which has stopped them from coming to Scotland. On the other hand, Chinese people and Chinese cultures have been involved in a considerable number of studies¹; but in most cases the Chinese are compared with the Americans. The fact that many such studies are done by American investigators or by Chinese

¹See bibliographies of Duijder and Frijda (1960), Abbott (1970), and Li and Yang (1972).

scholars who are staying in the United States is apparently an important factor. Thus there is room for at least one comparative study with Chinese and Scots as the subjects.

Muzafer Sherif (1967) has stressed the need for understanding the attitudes of other peoples in the world when he says: "Today we are more keenly aware than ever before of the differing beliefs, values, ways of life, and ideologies of various human groups and societies. These differences are reflected in the attitudes of individuals belonging to the various groups. Because the differences are frequently revealed in actual and potential conflict, problems of attitude and attitude change are among the most vital and timely in this world of rapid change" (p.1). In the past, people in one country had contact only with those in neighbouring countries and had little to do with those in other parts of the world. What people in New Zealand felt about slavery or racial discrimination was not a concern to people in South Africa, nor would New Zealanders care much about the choices of Africans in milk powder or margarine. But the situation is different now. Modern means of transportation and of communication have shortened the distance between peoples and have brought them close to each other. The economic crisis (e.g. the devaluation of currency) and political situation (e.g. the result of an election) of one nation are no longer isolated matters, but have great impact on the livelihood or on the security of other nations no matter how far away they are. Hence the attitudes of various groups of people towards their ways of life, towards their ways of doing things, towards family relationships, towards various social, economic, or political issues, and attitudes towards other peoples or nations in the world are very important matters. The more we can understand those attitudes of other peoples, the better the opportunity of getting along with them.

1.2 From the Study of National Characters to the Study of Attitudes

Although two peoples are going to be investigated in this research, there will be no intention to establish from the results a national character for either Scotland or the Republic of China. It is true that we will expect that some psychological attributes would be common to the Scots while others are consistent among the Chinese. At

the same time, we will expect that the two national groups would be different in some characteristics. But none of such findings will be regarded as representing the "national character" of either group, a term which has become a source of dispute in the behavioural sciences (Smith, 1966).

It seems appropriate to trace briefly the problem of national character studies which has been discussed by several investigators (Inkeles and Levinson, 1954; Terhune, 1970). In preparing a very thorough bibliography of the literature on national character and national stereotypes, Duijker and Frijda (1960) have pointed out that the problem of national character has occupied the minds of men since the beginning of recorded history. It is, in a way, related to man's tendency to classify the behaviour of people around him and to attribute the behaviour to various innate or relatively permanent predispositions. Such an approach is very tempting because of the possible convenience that a workable classification might offer: as soon as you know the nationality of an individual, you will immediately be able to tell what kind of person he is and how much he is similar to or different from yourself. Interest in this problem was greatly enhanced during and after World War II when people were eager to learn more about Germans, Russians and Japanese. Encouragement for such development came also from the efforts of the United Nations to promote international understanding by initiating studies such as national stereotypes (Buchanan and Cantril, 1953). The fact that the field of research was so vast, that people in several disciplines seemed to see their share of the task, and that there was comparative ease in getting research funds drew a good deal of thought and energy into this field. A great number of studies were then reported but unfortunately many of them suffered from subjectivity, impressionism, and biased interpretation. If one reads through those hundreds of titles included in the bibliography prepared by Duijker and Frijda (1960), one can easily discover that the researchers did not share a common concept of national character. Inevitably such studies have invited a good deal of criticisms such as inadequacies of research methodology, inappropriate selection of measuring techniques, the size of samples, etc. The most serious challenge is, of course, on the validity of the basic assumption that people in a given nation are alike in some aspects and they are different from peoples of other nations in these same aspects.

Thus efforts have been made to replace the rather misleading term "national character". Inkeles and Levinson (1954) have suggested the concept of "modal personality" with the idea that national character is related to the frequency distribution of personality patterns within a given society. It is not the personality pattern as such that is characteristic of a society, but its relative frequency as compared to other societies. This implies: (a) while a certain personality pattern may be dominant in one country, it may be present to a lesser degree in many other countries; and (b) the frequency of personality patterns may be multi-modal or, more clearly, a nation may show several modal personalities.

Although the concept of modal personality has not been broadly accepted, Inkeles and Levinson (1954) have laid down some important guidelines concerning the study of national character. They feel that such studies should deal with psychological attributes that are relatively common and standard among the members of the society and are relevant both psychologically and socially; those attributes should not be just some forms of behaviour but determinants of behaviour with relative endurance and stability. They also suggest that the method of research should be amenable to large scale administration with representative samples and any inference about national character should be based on data collection which permits examination of social frequencies and multi-modal interpretation.

Following those above-mentioned suggestions, Smith (1966) has proposed that the study of "modal attitude clusters" would be a very practical alternative. First, attitude study would by-pass the major difficulty of searching for some psychological "whole" characteristic of a nation and would, therefore, be able to focus attention on the difference between populations in the distribution of an attitude or a group of attitudes. The specific response to a particular object would permit more precise points of reference for cross-cultural studies; nations or populations could now be compared, not in terms of the presence or absence of a total personality characteristic, but in terms of their respective attitude distribution towards identical attitude objects. Moreover, the formation of, or development of attitudes can be empirically examined against childhood experiences and other influences, and such analysis would be far less complex than

making inferences concerning personality or character development.

To restrict the study of national character to the investigation of the systems of attitudes, values and beliefs is not necessarily the best approach because these attitudes are not identical with personality as a whole and because they are generally considered to represent the more superficial regions of the personality in contrast with the deeper layers (Duijker and Frijda, 1960). However, attitudes do constitute a very important aspect, perhaps the more or less conscious idea-system of the personality which Inkeles calls "social personality" (1953). Duijker and Frijda (1960) agree that from a certain point of view, to consider that social personality is the region where intra-national similarities and international differences are located may be seen as an advantage in that "research oriented in this direction stays rather close to what the individuals dealt with experience as their guiding values and motives, ... it stays close to the phenomenal data, which in our present state of knowledge may seem a wise strategy, especially since it does not preclude eventual interpretations in terms of more general, ... 'deeper' theories" (p.21).

Indeed, attitudes do constitute an important aspect of personality; many scholars talk about nothing but attitudes when they are discussing personality. In an analysis of National Character and Modern Political Systems, Inkeles (1961) has tried to define the Democratic Character. First he confirms the theory that societies which have a long history of democracy are peopled by a majority of individuals who possess a personality conducive to democracy. In other words, what he says is that the democratic character is the modal personality of the people in a democratic country. Then he goes on to "postulate certain qualities which are probably indispensable to the long-run maintenance of a democratic political order", and what he has listed are:

- (a) Values about the Self-----"The democratic society requires the belief in the inalienable rights of the person...."
- (b) Orientation towards Others-----"The democratic attitudes towards other beings".
- (c) Orientation towards Authority-----"At the core of the democratic personality lies a stress on personal autonomy and a certain distance from, if not distrust of, powerful authority..."

(d) Attitude towards Community----There is a stress on "the importance of openness, ready acceptance of differences and willingness to compromise and change" (Inkeles, 1961, p.195-199).

The exact contents of the Democratic Character or Personality have nothing to do with the present study. What is to be pointed out is that the "qualities" indispensable to the democratic personality or the national character of a democratic nation as suggested by Inkeles are really a specific set of attitudes. Following this line of thinking, attitude studies can doubtless be regarded as an appropriate and also an important approach for studying personality, either within a nation or cross-culturally.

1.3 The Way for the Changing World

One may, even before this study, predict some of its results, for example, the fact that the Chinese adolescents would show greater self control than the Scottish pupils, whereas the latter would give greater value to independence than the former. Perhaps one would like to ask: how long would this cultural difference last? That is indeed a difficult question. We know that both cultures will change; but it is not easy to tell where they are moving and whether they would meet some day.

There has been some change in Chinese civilisation in the last half century. The development of industry has changed not only the ways of living but also the values of many material objects. The breaking down of the extended family system has loosened the family tie and consequently modified interpersonal relationships. The introduction of the concept of democracy has changed the social role of an individual and his attitude towards authorities. It is beyond any doubt that the impact of Western civilisation has been an important cause of these changes.

After the Chinese revolution in 1911, people expected changes in Chinese civilisation. Efforts were made in many aspects to bring the country away from her old traditions. There was a heated argument on this problem among learned people in the 1920s. Hu Hsih (1891-1962)

was one of those who led the movement of Westernisation with the belief that Chinese people should free themselves from the bondage of the Confucian teachings, the traditional family systems, and the old customs in regard to interpersonal relationships. They believed that only science and democracy would solve all the problems of the country. On the other hand, Liang Chi-chao (1873-1929) and others felt that there was no future in following the pattern of Western civilisation which was itself headed to its downfall; the solution for the problem in China was to restore and enhance the traditional philosophy, mainly Confucianism. Of course, neither side really won the argument and today, both schools of thinking still exist (Kuo, 1946).

The traditional Chinese civilisation had its weak points. Latourette (1965) pointed out that the Chinese family system discouraged change even when changes meant improvement, and it also discouraged individualism which was an important factor of personal achievement in the West. Hsu (1955) felt that Chinese people relied on mutual dependence and as a result, "their society will be one in which poverty prevails because they fail to look to nature's bounties for economic reward; social atrocities will persist because they have no abstract reasons to fight them; the individual will lack the initiative to attempt what has not been tried before; and the culture as a whole - its arts, science, economy, and government - will remain relatively stagnant." (p.380).

On the other hand, the difficulties that materialism and individualism have brought to Western societies are obvious. Dis-integrated family life, crimes, drug-addiction, sex problems, mental illness, etc. reflect the tension and emotional disturbance among individuals and in the society. Cole and Hall (1970) described the youth of the U.S.A. in these words: "The present generation of youth has therefore grown up with the basic attitude that any expression of their ideas and feelings will be tolerated, with a deep admiration for physical reactions and with innumerable examples of successful violence before them. As a result, they are intolerant of all restraint. The combination of such influences could easily produce the widespread student strikes and sit-ins, with their attendant violence and disregard for the rights of others, their hatred of authority, and their demand that no participant be punished." (p. 7-8).

No one seems to know when these will end and what will come next. People might wonder if Hu Hsih would have suggested thorough Westernisation for China had he foreseen the present day civilisation of the West.

But Chinese civilisation has been undergoing its course of change and has been gradually westernised not because Chinese people have accepted the ideas of Hu Hsih, but because the inevitable industrialisation and the introduction of modern technology have influenced the actual pattern of the life of Chinese people. Thus far, the change has been slow and gradual; but as it goes on, it will soon gain momentum. The problem for Chinese people today is whether they should keep on following the steps of their friends in the West. Should they not try to find a different way to go through the process of industrialisation and urbanisation without losing their balance? Can such a way be found?

The problem is indeed beyond the scope of the present study. But a cross-cultural study has the merit of putting together the pictures of peoples from two different societies and bringing forth some insight into the interaction between culture and personality. LaBarre (1946), after his analysis of character structure in the Orient, suggested that people in the West should learn from the Chinese the way of adjusting to the universe. An even better suggestion would be that people of various cultures should learn from one another. Fact finding research can provide material for a very important purpose, to help people to find a way in this changing world.

2.1 The Definition of an Attitude

While the study of attitudes has been a very important topic in psychology, behavioural scientists have not been able to draw for the term attitude a definition which is generally acceptable. Each investigator has tended to focus his attention on a specific aspect of attitude and defined it accordingly. For instance: Chave (1928) noticed its complex content; Cantril (1934) stressed its enduring state; many scholars saw an attitude as a tendency or mental disposition to act (e.g. Bogardus, 1931; Droba, 1933); others felt that an attitude was mainly the emotional regard for objects (Ewer, 1929, Thurstone, 1931); still others tended to emphasise the evaluative nature of an attitude (Osgood, et al. 1957, Fishbein, 1967a).

Doob (1947) made a serious attempt to propose a comprehensive definition for attitude and elaborated it as follows: "An attitude is (1) an implicit response, (2) which is both (a) anticipatory and (b) mediating in reference to patterns of overt responses, (3) which is evoked (a) by a variety of stimulus patterns and (b) as a result of previous learning or of gradients of generalisations and discrimination, (4) which is itself cue- and drive-producing, (5) and which is considered socially significant in the individual's society." (p.136). But his proposal was criticised by Chein (1948) who questioned Doob's assumption that an attitude was a response and at the same time persistent, that an attitude could be both a response and a habit, and that an attitude was necessarily implicit and anticipatory. Chein then suggested an alternative definition: "an attitude is a disposition to evaluate certain objects, actions, and situations in certain ways" (Chein, 1948, p. 176).

Although there are so many different definitions for attitude suggested by various scholars, there are, according to Triandis (1971), two themes that are common to most of them: (a) an attitude is a predisposition to respond; and (b) an attitude is represented by consistencies in the responses of individuals to social situations.

One of the difficulties in reaching agreement in defining a psychological term is that it has not been used to denote exactly the same thing by different investigators. To many scholars (Krech and

Crutchfield, 1948; Rokeach, 1968; Scott, 1969; etc.), attitude should be differentiated from other concepts such as belief, ideology, value, opinion, etc. Rokeach (1968) made some effort to define each of these terms separately and felt that each had its own functions. Fishbein (1967b) had the same idea and when he placed both attitude and beliefs regarding an object within a behaviour theory framework, he viewed attitudes as learned, mediating evaluative responses, and beliefs as the probability of stimulus-response associations. After having discussed the acquisition of attitudes, Fishbein tried to formulate the relationship between beliefs and attitude as: "Once the concept has been learned, however, the individual learns many new things about it, that is, he associates many different objects, concepts, values, or goals with the attitude object (the stimulus concept). This set of responses associated with the concept may be viewed as a belief system.... Each of these associated responses may be viewed as stimuli, which themselves elicit a learned mediating evaluative response.... Thus, when the concept is presented, it will elicit this summated evaluative response, that is, it will elicit this learned attitude." (p.394). In other words, an individual's attitude towards any object is primarily determined by his salient beliefs.

But not everyone shares these ideas. Katz (1960), for instance, regarded attitude as the total predisposition to respond but with several functional components. According to his theory, attitudes have the following important functions:

- (a) The Adjustment Function--- Essentially this function is a recognition of the fact that people strive to maximise the rewards in their external environment and to minimise the penalties (e.g. a child develops a favourable attitude towards an object which is associated with the satisfaction of his needs).
- (b) The Ego-Defensive Function--- This is to protect one's ego from one's own unacceptable impulses and from the knowledge of threatening forces from without by developing various defensive mechanisms.
- (c) The Value-Expressive Function --- This serves to give positive expression to his central values and to the type of person he conceives himself to be.

- (d) The Knowing Function --- This is to seek knowledge which may serve as a frame of reference for understanding the world which would otherwise be an unorganised chaotic universe. (Katz, 1960, p. 170-176).

Thus attitudes are not merely responses to external stimuli, they have the function of adjusting to both the external world and to inner needs. An individual may need to adopt a certain view or attitude towards a specific class of objects to maintain his feeling of security or to keep himself away from certain kinds of persons or objects. Hence, one's attitudes are dynamic representations of his personality and they are there with important purposes, with or without the awareness of the individual himself.

These and many other similar discussions on attitude clearly indicate the complex nature of this psychological entity. One can begin to understand why it is so difficult to define the term in the first place. Personally, this author tends to agree with Smith (1966) and Triandis (1971) that the definition suggested by Allport still has merit and is thoughtfully worded. In Allport's words: "An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (Allport, 1935). The unique merit of this definition seems to be its inclusiveness. Allport did not use the word "enduring" because an attitude may change; he did not use the word "evaluative" because an attitude may be related to other aspects of an object; and he did not call an attitude an implicit response because implicitness is not the unique characteristic of an attitude. Most psychological entities can also only be inferred from overt behaviour. In less than thirty-five words, Allport managed to include most of the essential features of attitude in his definition such as that it is learned, that it is a predisposition of behaviour, that it does not have a fixed effect (but, rather, a dynamic influence) on behaviour so that specific behaviour cannot safely be predicted from an attitude, and that it has motivational functions.

Social Attitudes - The term Social Attitudes is still not clearly defined. Among the existing definitions, the one suggested by

Campbell (1963) has often been quoted: "An individual's social attitude is a syndrome of response consistency with regard to social objects". This is basically the same definition as Bernard (1930) gave in a much earlier period. But both writers failed to make clear what was a social object. Triandis (1971) gave many examples of social objects without defining the term.

Sherif and Sherif (1956) devoted a rather lengthy chapter to social attitudes in their An Outline of Social Psychology and they said that "The feature that makes some attitudes social is that they are formed in relation to social stimulus situations" (p.490). In other words, social attitudes are those formed in relation to persons, to groups, to group standards or values. Following this line of thought, an attitude based on private experience can still be social so long as it is in some way related to group norms. Thus attitudes that are not "social" are really rare.

Perhaps that is the reason the two terms, attitude and social attitude are quite often used interchangeably. In articles written by Triandis (1964) and by Diab (1967), for instance, the term "social attitudes" appears only in their titles whereas "attitude" is used in other parts of the papers.

Asch (1952) is apparently the one who deliberately put the two terms together and thinks that all attitudes are social attitudes. His reasoning is that "they (attitudes) are social not merely because their objects are social or because others have similar attitudes. They are social principally in that they arise in view of and in response to perceived conditions of mutual dependence". He also stresses that "attitudes are not only causally connected with group conditions, they are also part of the mutually shared field" (p.575-576). Asch does not feel that attitudes are just tendencies to respond, but they are of the nature of commitments upon which depend the individual's solidarity with the elements of his surroundings.

In the case of the present paper, the term social attitude is used because it is attitudes towards some of the social objects (people, self, social institutions, etc.) that are to be studied. It is the attitudes shared by the two groups of adolescents that are to be

investigated without any intention of studying the attitudes of an individual. Sharing the dynamic view of Asch, the author is interested in the social attitudes of young people because they are their mutually shared field.

2.2 Attitudes and Behaviour

In the great variety of definitions of attitude, one of the common themes is that an attitude is a predisposition to respond (Triandis, 1971). This indicates that all behavioural scientists do recognise the fact that an individual's attitude has its influence on his behaviour. However, the problem of the relationship between attitudes and overt behaviour has remained a topic of discussion in recent years.

The issue was first raised by LaPiere (1934) who travelled with a Chinese couple and found no trouble in getting the Orientals received by hotels and restaurants on their way. But when he later asked those establishments if they would accept members of the Chinese race as guests, over 90 per cent of the responses were negative. Hence LaPiere went on to conclude that "It is impossible to make direct comparison between the reactions secured through questionnaires and from actual experience" (p.234).

Thus started the question which was often referred to as the discrepancy between verbal attitudes and overt behaviour and which became the subject of many studies. The experiment carried out by DeFleur and Westie (1958) was a good example. The investigators asked white girl students to permit themselves to be photographed sitting with a Negro male. The subjects were free not to permit the photograph to be taken at all or, if they signed an agreement, to allow the photograph to be used in various ways ranging from display in the laboratory to use in a national campaign for integration. It was found that one third of the subjects behaved differently from their expressed attitude (normally in a less tolerant direction) when it actually came to signing a document. Later, Linn (1965) repeated the same experiment and found that about half of the students did not conform to their verbal attitudes regarding the criteria of being photographed. So the discrepancy between attitude and overt behaviour is evident.

To account for such discrepancy between attitude and behaviour, many explanations have been suggested and they can be classified into four categories: (a) that there is a "true" attitude which the measuring instrument has failed to gauge correctly; (b) that there are different "classes" of attitudes towards a given object; (c) that attitude can be equated with behaviour, using attitude simply as a descriptive term summarising observed behaviour; and (d) an attitude may be thought of as an underlying disposition which enters, along with other influences, into the determination of a variety of behaviour (Cook and Sellitz, 1964). It is very obvious that most researchers favour the last explanation as they have long recognised the fact that, aside from an individual's attitude towards an object, there are still many other factors that may influence his behaviour. Wicker (1969) has grouped these "other" factors into two large categories:

(a) Personal factors:

- i. Other attitudes
- ii. Competing motives
- iii. Verbal, intellectual and social abilities
- iv. Activity levels

(b) Situational factors:

- i. Actual or considered presence of certain people
- ii. Normative prescriptions of proper behaviour
- iii. Alternative behaviour available
- iv. Specificity of attitude object
- v. Expected and/or actual consequences of various acts.

As a matter of fact, none of these factors is unfamiliar to a behavioural scientist. Take the factor of "competing motives" as an example. Everyone knows that there are often many drives or needs that are active at any one moment and it is the result of the dynamic interaction of those drives that determines the eventual response. During the testing of attitudes, one item or question deals with a specific attitude as if it is independent from other influences, a condition which very rarely occurs in actual life situations. For instance, during an interview in a period of "peace", most young people would agree that public property should be protected from being damaged. But at the moment of some kind of group arousal, this attitude may well be suppressed by other drives which are more dominant in that particular situation. Likewise, cheating behaviour in schools where competition is very keen often results from the fact that students' motivation to

get higher marks is stronger than their motivation to behave honestly; and such overt behaviour certainly does not reflect a "favourable" attitude towards cheating.

Another factor that is often overlooked is the specificity of the attitude object. It has been pointed out by Fishbein (1967a) that the stimulus object in a verbal attitude measuring situation is often very general (e.g. Negro, birth control, etc.) whereas the stimulus in overt behaviour situations tends to be more specific. A very interesting argument made by the Chinese sophists in ancient days that "a white horse is NOT a horse" can help to clarify this point. A white horse has many specific characteristics that may not exist in all horses, so they are different from one another. Consequently the attitude of an individual towards a horse does not necessarily correlate with his behaviour towards a white horse. Campbell (1963) has made a clear differentiation between general and specific objects and he regards the problem concerning the attitude-behaviour relationship as nothing but a "pseudodiscrepancy". When one fails to realise this fact, the results of an attitude measurement would only lead to confusion instead of understanding.

The complex relationship between attitudes and behaviour is a very difficult subject for experimental study in laboratories. However, many investigators have still managed to obtain some impressive results. For example: Campbell et al. (1960) showed that the results of a six partisan attitude measure concerning an election in the United States predicted correctly a larger percentage of the actual votes among American adults than the voters themselves were able to predict correctly. Jones and Kohler (1958) studied the influences of the attitudes of white college students in America who were classified as pro-segregationists, anti-segregationists and neutrals on their learning and memory of statements related to racial problems. It was found that among those statements that were compatible with subjects' attitudes, the plausible ones were better learned than the implausible ones; and among those statements that were opposing subjects' attitudes, it was the implausible ones which were better learned. It suggests that people tend to learn things which would defend their attitudes: either the sound, strong supporting ideas or the weak, irrational opposing views.

The fact that attitude is a determinant of psychological selectivity has been demonstrated by many studies. For instance: Postman et al. (1948) showed their subjects 36 words, each word representing one of the six values included in the Allport-Vernon Study of Values, a test the subjects had taken beforehand. The initial exposure of each word was too brief to be recognised, but the exposure was increased in gradations until the word was recognised. The finding was that the greater the value of the word in the eyes of the subject, the shorter was the time needed to recognise it. Vanderplas and Blake (1949) did a similar experiment by presenting the words with auditory stimuli. And they found that audibility threshold was lower for words that corresponded to the dominant value or attitude of the individual.

Ordinary people, however, do not have to wait for such technical reports as the above-mentioned to discover the attitude-behaviour relationship. Through newspapers, radio, or television they get ample evidence which indicates that attitude is a determinant of behaviour. Stories such as: two parents refused to let their sick child receive a blood transfusion because of their religious belief; some dog-lovers showed little concern over the news that a young boy was bitten by a dog but became angry when the animal was killed by police; members of a certain body rejected a suggestion to destroy some of the birds on their land which had been proved to be a threat to an oyster farm on which many people's livelihood depended, are just a few examples.

There is little question that an individual's attitudes have influence on his behaviour, but the relationship between the two is a very complex one. LaPiere (1934) did not really deny such a relationship, he was only criticising the way that attitudes were measured and the naive attempt to predict overt behaviour from some "cheap, easy, and mechanical" questionnaires alone. Perhaps we should feel grateful to him for having stimulated so many subsequent studies that were aimed at improving the techniques of attitude measurement.

2.3 Attitude Formation through Education

All psychologists agree that attitudes are acquired (Doob, 1947). It is true that child training and experience in early childhood have

vital influences on the development of one's attitudes and personality (Whiting and Child, 1953). However, attitudes can be acquired at any period of one's life (all experimental studies on attitude formation provide good evidence of this) and certainly many of them are formed in schools (e.g. attitude towards teachers, towards examinations, etc. This does not deny their possible connections with experiences of an earlier period).

Young people in a society have to learn to adjust to the outside world, they have to know about themselves, what they are expected to do by the people around them, and how to establish happy relations with others and at the same time to develop their own capacities to the full extent. They need to form attitudes as their self-guide to their behaviour. Adams (1968) has called the attention of parents, teachers and other adults to their responsibility for providing help and guidance needed by young people in the course of their development.

With their professional training, teachers are often able to do more in helping young people. Just as a school is not merely a place to pass on to youths some bookish knowledge and handicraft skills, so teachers are not there just to teach a certain amount of subject matter. A youth in school needs more than that. He needs to learn to make proper use of his own physical and mental abilities, his past experiences, his social relations, and other available facilities, to adjust to his external environment and to deal with the people around him. His experiences at an early stage will be internalised to form attitudes which will predispose the manner of his later adjustment. It is felt that a school and the teachers there have the responsibility to provide the kind of environment and programmes in which every youth has experiences that will help him to develop healthy attitudes towards himself, towards other people, and towards various objects, material or abstract, in his environment.

Take attitudes towards oneself as an example. Attitudes towards oneself are often referred to as the self concept which has been an important topic in psychology. They include the individual's personal impression or evaluation in regard to all aspects of himself: his physical health, his special abilities, his assets and weaknesses, his possible achievement in the future, his status in his peer group, etc.

Combs and Snygg (1959) called these one's phenomenal self and felt that they were major determinants of one's behaviour. In the same way as he acquires other attitudes, an individual may form part of his self concept based on his direct experiences with the environment; but very often he learns more from other people (Triandis, 1971). A man uses a mirror to see his face and he uses other people around him as mirrors to see other aspects of himself. The reactions of others towards him reflect one or more of his characteristics. When a young pupil is appointed by a teacher to do a certain task, he is not only given an opportunity to work on something but also he gets the impression, which is far more significant than the task itself, that the teacher has confidence in his ability or knowledge related to that specific task. That helps the pupil to develop his own confidence and to form a part of his self image. Much can be done by a teacher in this respect. Were all teachers to realise that their evaluative statements, verbal or otherwise, are so important to their pupils, perhaps remarks such as "You are doing such a foolish thing", or "You will never make it" will be less frequently heard in a classroom.

This author once participated in a Mental Hygiene Consultation Service Programme to answer inquiry letters from people with emotional or psychological problems. Most of the inquiries came from people aged 15 to 40. The question of masturbation was frequently brought up by young males with the fear that such "self indulgence"¹ would cause serious sickness particularly neurasthenia. In some letters, the young people mentioned that they were told by their teachers that masturbation had serious "ill effects" and wanted to know what were the real consequences. Apparently these teachers were only trying to warn the young people so that they would stop indulging in masturbation. They had little idea that such warning might have similar or even worse "ill effects" than masturbation itself. If teachers in high schools have correct information about masturbation and other matters related to physical health in adolescence, they can help their pupils to develop healthy attitudes towards such matters, and to eliminate many of their unnecessary fears.

The attitudes of young people today towards authority may serve as

¹"Self indulgence" was the Chinese term used as a substitute for masturbation which many Chinese found it difficult to talk about.

another example in which appropriate assistance of teachers may be helpful. A very popular belief in democracy, according to Inkeles (1961), is that "At the core of the democratic personality lies a stress on personal autonomy and a certain distance from, if not distrust, of powerful authority or, to put it negatively, an absence of the need to dominate or submit such as is found in the authoritarian personality" (p.196). And teachers and parents are often regarded as "authorities" or "authoritarian figures". As democracy is highly valued today, it seems only natural for young people to be "distant from or distrust" their parents or teachers. Is that the real essence of democracy? It would be very unfortunate if it is. Imagine how many young people today are showing defiance to persons or objects (such as the social order or the administrative office of a university, etc.) that they regard as authorities in order to demonstrate that they are democratic. Is it not possible to develop a more healthy attitude towards "democracy" and towards those people who happen to be in the position of authorities? (Not all teachers or parents intend to make themselves authorities and many of them are indeed very unauthoritarian.)

A school should be a good place for young people to learn matters such as democracy or, to avoid the unclearly defined term, the establishment of harmonious interpersonal relationships through mutual respect and understanding. If things in a school including the rules and regulations, classroom activities, extracurricular programmes, etc. are carefully planned, pupils there can experience satisfaction and happiness through cooperative activities, being a member of a group, playing various roles at different occasions, sometimes a leader, sometimes a follower, and through the sharing of group pride and success. Under such circumstances, young people will certainly develop generally positive attitudes towards others and towards interpersonal relationships.

Many people hold the view that children should be given opportunities to learn or to develop their attitudes through direct experiences. That is very true provided that the youngsters are sufficiently mature both intellectually and emotionally for the learning of a specific matter at that particular time. Prior to that and when certain information is necessary, it is the responsibility of adults to provide for the young the required information and to help the latter

develop proper attitudes towards a certain object or situation.

A mother of five children once told this author a very interesting and enlightening experience of hers. All her five children were in school and she had to prepare lunch boxes for them (usually a tin container with rice, meat and vegetables in it) every morning. One day, when she had the food ready, she told the children to fill their containers themselves as she felt somewhat tired. Lying in her bed, she heard the voice of the youngest girl from the dining room: "Eldest sister, you have taken too much meat." The eldest girl who was in college then replied with a tone of reproach: "Shut up! Mummy prepared this for us, I can take as much as I want." The youngest one apparently dared not argue with her elder sister and said nothing. But a sharp protest came up from the second one, a boy of sixteen: "You are wrong, elder sister, the food here is now ours. If you take more than your share, then one of us will have less than he or she ought to have. So, you cannot take as much as you want." The argument was not really a serious one and the children finally settled the matter peacefully; but the mother heard it clearly. Next morning, as she told this author, she divided the food for the children again as she used to do. Without much thinking, this author remarked: "You will have to let them do the job some day" "Yes, of course," answered the mother, "but maybe a bit later. I am afraid that my second son's words might be generalised. I don't want the youngest one, who is still too young to understand, to get the impression that whenever her elder sister gets more, she will get less. Food is still measurable and you can make it 'equal' for both of them. But what about other things that are not measurable, or things of which they cannot have equal shares?"

This author was very impressed by the effort of this mother who was trying to stop her young child from getting the impression that whenever her sister gets more, she will have less, or that her sister's benefit was in conflict with hers. Such an impression is exactly what many people have today. That is what makes people unable to see others gain some benefit.

When an individual feels that his benefit is always in conflict with that of others, then a gain of someone else will mean a loss to

him. As a consequence, he will find it difficult to stand any gain, victory or success of others as all these would be a threat to his own success or achievement. Gradually, it does not even have to be the gain of his real rivals that worries him, the success of any one will make him anxious, will make him feel that he himself is once again a failure.

Unfortunately, many school authorities today do not have the same insight as the mother mentioned above. Many practices in schools are sharpening the competitive feelings among pupils, allowing only one or a few of them to get the prize or success. Several years ago, a teacher proudly told this author that he marked the papers of his pupils by the principle of normal distribution, which meant that only a fixed proportion of his pupils would pass. Teachers like him have no idea that such a practice would affect the pupils' attitude towards themselves and also their attitudes towards interpersonal relationships.

What this author wishes to stress is the importance of developing positive and healthy attitudes among people, particularly among young adolescents. He feels strongly that the task should be made one of the objectives of our education. Sometimes the language used by teachers to define a term or to explain a specific phenomenon may have either positive or negative influence on the development of an appropriate attitude among the pupils towards the matters concerned. More discussion of this problem will be given in the following section.

2.4 Language and Attitudes

A man is often trapped or controlled by the objects he has created. He makes a motor car and then cannot keep himself from speeding with it; he produces wine and then cannot keep himself from getting drunk; he invents words and languages and then cannot keep his own thoughts from being dominated by them. He calls something new modern, permissive or progressive, and then surrenders himself helplessly to the gigantic power of those words and lets the latter dictate his behaviour. Very often he is compelled to do something only because it is fashionable or modern, or he has to shun another object simply because it is

labelled "traditional" or "conservative". The saddest thing is that the individual does not even have the courage to allow himself sufficient time to have a good look at the matter that he is dealing with.

We seem to have little insight into the fact that all too often it is the name or label of something rather than its substance that has the decisive influence upon our behaviour. Our attitudes towards an object are always affected by the name of the latter. When something or a certain pattern of behaviour bears an attractive label, we tend to have positive attitudes towards it. Thus to name things properly and appropriately is a very important factor for the development of wholesome attitudes towards it.

Hchu and Yang (1972) made a study of individual Modernity and Psychogenic Needs with a questionnaire which was mainly based on the criteria of modernisation suggested by Inkeles (in Weiner, 1966). The questionnaire was given to 150 Chinese college students together with the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), and the correlations between the two scales were determined. It was found that the tendency towards modernisation had significantly positive correlation with the needs for Autonomy and for Heterosexuality, and negative correlation with the need for Deference. When the paper was reported at the 1970 Annual Meeting of the Chinese Psychological Society, the present author made a comment concerning the Chinese term of modernisation which had a highly positive value itself. The argument was that when a certain trait (in this case, modernisation) was given a positively valued label and at the same time associated with a certain pattern of behaviour, it would then have an effect of encouraging such pattern of behaviour because people tended to show that they were in possession of the "positively valued" trait (e.g. to be modern). When we were not sure that a certain pattern of behaviour was really desirable, we should be careful not to have it associated, directly or indirectly, with an attractive, highly valued label.

Sapir (1949) saw this difficulty of ours and pointed out clearly that "Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, not alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very

much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium for their society". Whorf (1955) also stressed the influence of language when he said that all higher levels of thinking were dependent on language. In editing the works of Whorf, Carroll has elaborated the idea of the former that "the structure of a human being's language influences the manner in which he understands reality and behaves with respect to it" (Carroll, 1955, p.4).

A great part of our attitudes are learned through verbal communication with other people so it is very probable that we may get a false impression about an object (or a person, or situation) because it is improperly labelled. It is often not easy for us to realise how much we have been conditioned to some value labels so that we tend to lose our voluntary control over our responses to the object concerned.

Scientists sometimes have to name or label an object or phenomenon and occasionally they have not given careful thought to the value content of the proposed label and the possible consequence of the use of such a label. For instance, the term "generation gap" is not a very good label. Psychologists and sociologists have talked about differences between races, religions, and cultures, but it is only when they come to the differences between two generations that the word "gap" is used. This unique treatment seems to suggest that the differences between generations are not similar to and/or more serious than other group differences. As a Gap means an opening or a breach, it makes people think that there is a solid, non-eliminable barrier between two generations. According to the theory of "self-fulfilling prophecy" (Merton, 1948), the term may produce unsound consequences. It is for this reason that this author has suggested that the word "difference" rather than "gap" should be used in the Chinese translation of this term. He feels that the fact that attitudes may follow a certain term or label should not be overlooked.

3.1 THE SUBJECTS

The subjects who participated in the present study were adolescents from Scotland and from Taiwan, Republic of China. They were the first, second and third year pupils of secondary schools in the two countries with ages ranging from 12 to 15. Their grade and sex distributions are shown in Table 3-1.

A. The Scottish Subjects

The Scottish Subjects covered in this study were drawn from five secondary schools in two neighbouring counties of Glasgow. Administratively, these schools are not under the supervision of the Glasgow educational authorities; but geographically they are only a short distance away from Glasgow. Many of the parents of those pupils are actually working in the City and frequently the young people come to Glasgow for entertainments. There is really nothing more than an administrative boundary, which "may be considered the most arbitrary and artificial" (Kellas, 1968), between the City of Glasgow and the areas of those schools.

The reason that pupils in the City schools were not chosen was that they were too frequently used as subjects for experimental studies conducted by faculty members and research people from the two universities and one teacher training college in that area. Thus the school headmasters were reluctant to accept any additional testing in their schools as they were concerned that the regular school programmes would be interrupted too much. The pupils, too, became a bit tired of being "tested" and their attitude towards testing was not very "natural". Hence this author decided to turn to schools that were outside the administrative boundary of Glasgow, and yet were so close to it that, socially and economically, they were not separate from the City. In fact, the local government of Scotland has made plans to enlarge the city of Glasgow to include a good deal of its present neighbouring areas, making it a big Glasgow District (Wheatley, 1969). If that happens, all these schools will be in the District. The five schools from which the subjects were drawn were Bishopbriggs High School, Duncanrig Secondary School, Lanark Grammar School, Trinity High School and Lenzie

Academy. The first four schools are in the County of Lanark which is east of Glasgow while the fifth one is in the County of Dunbarton, which is northeast of the City. All these are co-educational, comprehensive schools with enrolment from 1,000 to 1,800. While four of them are non-denominational secondary schools taking pupils from their localities, Trinity High is a Roman Catholic School. This particular school was purposely included in this study as Catholics constitute about 25.6% of the total church membership in Scotland. However, a recent survey indicated that the majority of Catholics in Glasgow favoured integrating Protestant and Catholic schools (Kellas, 1968, p.71).

As far as the socio-economic background of the pupils is concerned, it seems to have covered a great range of conditions. One schoolmaster mentioned that "Many parents have professional occupations... and the majority are of upper working class" while another said that his school was in a place "where the general socio-economic atmosphere is that of lower middle class". When a headteacher in the third school described the families of his pupils, he said that "there is a 1:1 ratio of owner occupied and council houses" (this is a most revealing fact in Scotland). It seems that, by and large, the pupils in these schools together constitute a good sample of the adolescents in this area.

B. The Chinese Subjects

The Chinese sample included in this research was drawn from three schools in the City of Taipei. Tah-An is a school for boys in the east part of the City; Ching Hwa is a school for girls in the south section; and Yang Ming has both boys and girls in the school, but the two sexes are segregated in classes; it is in the northern suburb. These are all public junior secondary schools, taking from their localities students who have completed elementary school. Since 1968, the Republic of China has extended her Public Education Programme from six years to nine years, and junior secondary school programmes have become an integral part of public education. Children do not leave school until they reach the age of fifteen, after which they may either join a trade or continue their education in senior secondary schools or in an institution of vocational

training.

In general, the programmes in junior secondary schools are following the concept of comprehensive education in western countries. But the question of how pupils should be grouped in each grade remains an unsettled issue. The general practice at this moment is to put the lowest 5% on the intelligence scale in one class of special education while the rest are randomly grouped into classes with an average size of 45 to 48. In some schools, the gifted ones are also separated for enriched programmes.

While children in Scotland go to primary schools at five for a seven year programme, Chinese children start their six year elementary education at the age of six. Hence in both cases, children finish their primary school and enter the first year of secondary school in their twelfth year. It follows that the average age of the second year pupils is 13-14, and that of the third year ones is 14-15. Thus, when the two national samples were taken from secondary schools, they were automatically matched in age.

No attempt was made to match the two samples in intelligence or scholastic abilities. In each school, one class of "average" students was selected from each year at random for testing. Similar procedure was applied in both countries, but a balanced sex distribution was kept in each national sample. Table 3-1 gives the general formation of the entire group of pupils included in the present study. The Scottish adolescents were tested in March, 1971 while the data from the Chinese group were collected about a year later. The author handled the actual testing sessions himself in both cases to ensure that they were carried out in a similar manner.

Table 3-1: School Year and Sex Distribution of
the Pupils Tested in the Present Study

School Year	Scottish Subjects			Chinese Subjects		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
First	80	80	162	76	85	161
Second	88	81	169	87	85	172
Third	84	72	156	86	83	169
Total	254	233	487	249	253	502

3.2 Selection of Tests

In psychological studies, researchers often have to make careful consideration in selecting the psychological instruments. But few have given sufficient explanations in their reports concerning their selections due, probably, to the limited available space. Such neglect is, however, rather unfortunate because selection of instruments is a vitally important part of research and has great effect on the validity and reliability of the result. A researcher has the responsibility to make it clear to his readers why a particular test, or set of tests, has been chosen for a specific study. This will also be very helpful to those who intend to conduct similar investigations afterwards.

For the present study, the author has put a great deal of effort into selecting suitable instruments by examining hundreds of tests and questionnaires and by going over the related reports. It seems appropriate for him to explain how he finally made his choices.

A. General Criteria. Since the present research is a cross cultural study on the attitudes of adolescents, the instruments selected will have to meet the following general requirements:

1. With the least amount of cultural elements of either one of the two cultures involved in the study. In other words, the tests should be psychologically equivalent for the two groups of subjects. Ideally, identical forms of tests are to be used in both cultures. Tests with less amount of verbal content will be preferred in order to minimise the possible distortion or change in meaning caused by translation.
2. Suitable for group administration. As the present study included about 500 subjects in the sample of each country, it was impractical, if not impossible, to use individual tests. Tests that require rigid rules of administration were not chosen because of the practical difficulty of observing those strict regulations in group situations even with an experienced examiner.
3. Suitable for the age of adolescence. The subjects in the present study were pupils of 12 to 15 years of age, thus the tests selected were suitable to this particular age level in regard to

the form, the content, the vocabulary involved, the interval of testing, etc. They should look interesting to young people of this age so that the motivation to participate in the testing can be maintained during their administration. These points are stressed here because they are not infrequently ignored and, as a consequence, the result may not present a genuine picture of attitudes or feelings of the subjects.

B. Specific Considerations

I. The Sentence Completion Test (SCT)

The SCT has been recognised as an instrument with many advantages of which Mishler (1958) listed five: (a) Easy to administer and requires no special training for its application; (b) Economical in terms of the amount of information provided per unit of testing time; (c) Able to be constructed so as to tap a selected set of variables; (d) Non-threatening to respondents; and (e) permitting independent scoring of each variable. These may help to explain why the SCT has been one of the most frequently used tests. Sundberg (1961) found that of all the psychological tests and instruments used in clinical services, the SCT ranked 13 in frequency of use and was second only to MMPI among the group personality instruments. Clinical psychologists in the United States regarded the SCT as the third most useful test (Levy, 1952). In a more recent study, Goldberg (1968) pointed out that among the ten most frequently used tests, the SCT was in the 6th position, after Rorschach, Wechsler Scales, TAT, MMPI, and projective drawings. All these indicate that this test has been well accepted by professional workers. There are, however, still more reasons why the SCT has been chosen for the present study:

- (a) While the SCT has been used in a great variety of studies of which a thorough review was made by Goldberg (1965), some psychologists felt that it was especially useful for the assessment of attitudes (Robin & Hurley, 1964). Lindgren (1954) shared this opinion which was further supported by Goldberg as he said that "it was virtually the unanimous agreement (of clinical psychologists) that the method was useful in the evaluation of interpersonal attitudes" (Goldberg, 1968). Some examples of previous studies in this area are: attitudes towards Negroes (Brown, 1950), attitudes towards old

people (Golde & Kogan, 1959), attitudes towards peers and parents (Harris & Tseng, 1957), attitudes towards school life (Costin and Eiserer, 1949).

- (b) It has also been pointed out that the SCT is "extremely useful with adolescents" (Goldberg, 1968, p.216) and has been used with adolescents in many studies (Smith, 1963; Rotter, Rafferty & Lotsof, 1954). One possible reason seems to be the fact that the technique involved is a familiar one to most of the young people - to complete a sentence is a very frequent practice in language lessons at elementary grades. Such experience may make young pupils feel at ease during a sentence completion testing session.
- (c) One more advantage of the SCT which is specially relevant to the present study is that all test items, or sentence stems, are short and in simple language. This makes the task of translation much easier than that of other verbal instruments, though there are still some technical problems.

Although each researcher may develop his own test of sentence completion, the most frequently used ones are the Rotter Incomplete Sentence Blank (ISB) and the Sacks Sentence Completion Test (SSCT). The SSCT has 60 items which are clustered into specific clinically significant content categories. To force the subject to respond without evasion to the areas the items are designed to tap, the stems are comparatively more structured (Sacks and Levy, 1950). On the other hand, Rotter and Rafferty (1950) do not place their ISB items into specific categories. They use unstructured items which give the subject more freedom to make his responses. Thus the test appears less threatening and consequently may elicit more meaningful responses as the subject is less on guard. But this is not the only reason which makes the present author favour the ISB; the fact that the ISB has a High School Form for adolescents and that it is shorter (with only 40 items) than other sentence completion tests and therefore requires less time for its administration makes the test the most suitable instrument for the present research. Some minor modifications have been made and they will be discussed later.

2. The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)

In the last two decades, there has been a great deal of enthusiasm for using projective techniques, particularly Rorschach and the TAT, for cross

cultural studies. Lindsey attributed this increasing interest of researchers to: (a) the powerful and pervasive impact of psychoanalytic theory which emphasises the importance of unconscious motivation; (b) the influence of the holistic approach in studying human behaviour; and (c) the emergence of the view point of phenomenology which places the emphasis on the importance of measuring and understanding the environment as it is perceived by the actor or subject (Lindsey, 1961, p. 5-9). Moreover, in the case of the TAT, the use of non-verbal stimuli has eliminated the language problem between cultures and the fact that story-telling seems to be a universal interest are two advantageous features. These and the above-mentioned theoretical background have made anthropologists bring the TAT to different parts of the world. Nadel remarked that "a new kind of routine seems to be emerging whereby anthropologists, before setting out for the field, pack into their kitbag a set of Rorschach cards and TAT much as they do cameras, ... or a copy of "Notes and Queries" (Nadel, 1955).

It does not seem necessary for the author to explain further the use of the TAT in the present study. There are, however, two practical questions: the number of cards to be used, and the way of making the selection. These are discussed below.

(a) Number of cards to be used --- When Murray (1938) developed his set of TAT, he suggested that 20 cards were to be used in two sessions. But that standard procedure has probably only been followed in clinical diagnostic situations. In cases of research, investigators seem to have given themselves complete freedom concerning the number of TAT cards for their studies. Hsu (1963) used only two cards (I and I2BG) in his comparative study of Chinese, Hindu, and American college students. Caudill (1952), on the other hand, used fourteen when he studied Japanese immigrants in the United States. Murstein (1963) pointed out that in general, researchers tended to use eight to twelve cards. In an actual count covering sixteen previous studies, the author found that the median number of cards was 7.5, very close to the number included in the Basic TAT proposed by Hartman (1970). But this does not suggest that eight cards would obtain the optimum amount of information, nor is there any evidence that more cards would necessarily secure more material from the subject. Different investigators apparently made their decision based on different reasons why the time required for testing might well be

Table 3-2: Frequency of Card being Chosen in 16 Studies¹

Card No.	1	2	3BM	4	5	6BM	6GF
Frequency of being Chosen	10	7	7	8	4	9	5
Card No.	7BM	8BM	12M	13MF	14	16	18GF
Frequency of being Chosen	10	9	4	6	6	9	7

¹These studies are drawn from the references of this research and they include: Abbott (1970), Alexander and Anderson (1957), Atkinson (1958), Barclay and Cervantes (1969), Brown (1958), Caudill (1952), Cowan and Goldberg (1967), Hartman (1970), Hobbery (1955), Hsu (1963), Lindsey and Heineman (1955), Mussen and Kelley (1954), Mussen and Scodel (1958), Piotrowske (1958), Silber and Courtless (1968), and Sternlight and Silverg (1965). The cards that were chosen by less than four studies are not shown in the Table.

an important factor. For the present study, six cards (five from Murray's TAT and the Card BG from Phillipson's Object Relations Test) were chosen in the beginning, but two of them had to be discarded after a trial testing session because the time available during the administration was only enough for writing four stories.

- (b) Selection of the TAT cards --- In reviewing previous studies in which thematic techniques are used, one can see a great variation in regard to the selection of cards. Some cards are more frequently chosen than others (see Table 3-2) due probably to their greater "stimulation value". According to Zubin (1965), most of the investigators do not cite any kind of evidence other than their private experience to substantiate the efficacy of their criteria for selecting pictures designed to elicit information about specific motivation systems and/or areas of behaviour.

After having reviewed previous TAT studies and examined the pictures that were used in many of these cases, the present author has laid down some guidelines for the card-selection in his own project. They are: (a) Pictures should have little or no cultural elements of any specific culture, and those that are prepared for any particular group of people are, therefore, excluded. (b) Preference is given to those which are developed for general application; pictures that are specially designed for a particular purpose (such as McClelland's set for Achievement) are not to be included. (c) Preference is given to the most frequently used cards because of the advantage of the availability of more references. (d) Preference is given to those that have been used for studying Chinese subjects. Following these points, four cards, all from Murray's TAT (6BM, 8BM, 12BG & 14), have been selected. Further discussion of each of them follows.

Card 6BM (An elderly woman stands in front of a window with a younger man standing behind her.) Among the most frequently used cards, 6BM ranked the third (Table 3-2). Piotrowski (1958) felt that this card and 7BM should always be used in clinical situations because they often reflect the relationship to parents. Henry (1956) had the same opinion, saying that 6BM "deals most generally with the attitude towards maternal figures". Since the mother-son relationship is the most important interpersonal relationship in all cultures and has the greatest influence

on personality development, it is quite natural to include this picture in the present study. It will elicit information concerning the attitude of young people of the two countries toward their mother.

One might question the suitability of 6BM for cross-cultural studies because of the apparent western style dress of the two figures in the picture. To clarify that point, the author made a small scale pilot study in Taipei. Among the twenty subjects who were given TAT 6BM, 14 gave stories involving the predicted mother-son relationship. Perhaps the interpersonal relationship is so strongly suggested in the picture that all other elements have lost their effect on the content of the story elicited.

Card 14 (The silhouette of a figure against a bright window.)

This is a "culture fair" card if the term "culture free" is considered obsolete. The figure in the picture can be seen as any kind of person, of any nationality, and the place can be anywhere in the world. It seems to be a good picture for cross-cultural research.

There are two interesting studies relating to this card. Goldfried and Zax (1965) asked 74 college students to rate every TAT card on ten semantic differential scales. Both male and female students rated Card 14 as "independent, hopeful and pleasant". Since TAT cards in general tended to elicit "sad" stories according to Eron (1950), to include a pleasant one in a set may help to balance the atmosphere during test administration.

Card 14 has been found and scaled to be of medium ambiguity for achievement and, according to Murstein (1963, p. 362) medium ambiguous cards have, by and large, appeared to be promising (in productivity). Although Achievement motivation is not the subject of this study, a stimulus closely related to "self-ambition, fantasy and daydreaming" (Henry, 1955) seems suitable for adolescents.

Card 14 has been used in many studies including one on Chinese Family Life by Eberhard, DeVos, and Abbott (Abbott, 1971). This gives one reason to include this card in the present project.

Card 8BM (A young man with an operation scene in the background.)

Like 6BM, this is also a very frequently used card (Table 3-2). Henry's contention (1955) is that "the picture is a test of the subject's real-

ity orientation as well as his ambition and that it permits hostile and attacking fantasies to emerge". Accordingly, this card seems to be a good picture for subjects in high schools since ambition, reality orientation and aggressiveness are important aspects of the life and fantasy of adolescents. The main youth figure in the foreground gives the subject an excellent opportunity to identify himself and thus to project his feelings and attitudes. The shading of this picture has a very good effect in pushing other figures to the background as if they were only existing in the young man's thought or daydream. That often allows the subject more freedom to make his story and to express his aggressive feelings.

Card 12BG (A rowboat is drawn up on the bank of a woodland stream. There are no human figures in the picture.)

Comparatively, this card was rarely selected in previous studies. Because of the absence of human figures, this card is often not considered "too useful in any specific area except in suicidal or very depressed subjects" (Bellak, 1950). But Mundy selected this particular card for his research "as being of importance in social behaviour". He made it clear that "this was not a blind hope, but was suggested by previous experience with the test" (Mundy, 1971).

In fact, Mundy was not the only one who was interested in 12BG. Much earlier, Hsu (1963) selected this card as one of the two cards used in his study just because of its non-human content. He said that in this card, "interpersonal relationship includes: one individual, two individuals, two-plus individuals, and no individuals." According to Hsu, "the reaction to 12BG frequently conformed to one of the two distinct patterns: either they reacted to the manifest content of the picture stimulus with Reverie-type associations, or apparently threatened by solitude, they produced imagination plot related to romance or adventure, hence the category "Reverie and Plot" (p.268). The stories tend to show "the extent to which the subjects are sensitive to the non-human environment, and the extent to which they relax with nature" (p.266).

The present author also feels that the non-human content is an asset rather than a liability of 12BG. It sets a stage which allows the subject to bring any character or characters into the scene. He can make his hero a young man, an old soldier, a Scottish piper in a kilt,

or a Chinese scholar in oriental gown. He has complete freedom to determine the sex, age, race, religion, occupation as well as the activities of his character or characters. He has more authority than he has when he is with other cards, in creating his world of fantasy, be it beautiful and pleasant, or hostile and aggressive. Thus the card should be an ideal picture for cross-cultural research; and it is, indeed, surprising that it has not been recognised as such.

This author, too, saw the possible threatening element of the solitude of this picture and so he placed it in the fourth position during test administration. After having worked with three pictures, the subject will be more relaxed in making his last story and will have greater tolerance in dealing with his environment. After all, he has got some familiar things to start with; a pupil of twelve or older should have been acquainted with a tree and a rowboat.

3. The Semantic Differential Technique

Since the development of the semantic differential technique by Osgood et al. (1957), the method has been widely used because of its convenience in administration and the freedom of a researcher to select the concepts and scales to suit his specific purpose. The fact that it provides a quantitative result has been an important attraction to many people in the academic field. Moreover, the simple procedure of participating in a semantic differential study makes it applicable to a wide range of subjects in regard to age, education, and social and economic background. In general, people seem to like this method and Havighurst et al. (1965) actually called it "a game".

The Semantic Differential has been frequently used in cross-cultural studies. To mention a few: Triandis and Osgood's study (1958) with Greek college students, Suci's research (1960) among American Indians, Tanaka and Osgood's comparative study (1965) on Japanese, Americans and Finns, and Morsbach's study (1967) on social concepts among six sub-cultures in South Africa. The warm interest in this particular technique was mainly stimulated by Osgood's belief (1960, 1962) in the cross-cultural generality of semantic structure. Osgood (1964) himself conducted a large scale study which included subjects from sixteen

countries with the ambitious objective of compiling an Atlas of Affective Meanings.

In recent years, the Semantic Differential has been applied in studying attitudes. Schuch and Quesada (1963) used 10 scales to study the attitudes of Philipinos and American college students towards themselves and their faculty advisers. Walberg (1967) studied the self-concept of prospective women teachers. Neuringer (1968) investigated the attitudes of mental patients towards life and death. Rothro (1957) asked his Arab students to rate Italians, Turks and Germans and that was, in a sense, a study of national stereotypes. A similar approach was adopted by Morsbach and Morsbach (1967) for the study of the attitudes of South Africans towards other ethnic groups. The fact that this technique has been used in an increasing number of researches indicates that it has been well accepted as it enables one to present an attitudinal object to the subject for rating along many dimensions.

To the knowledge of this author, the Semantic Differential has not yet been used in Taiwan with Chinese subjects. Osgood (1964) in his attempt to obtain sample responses for various languages for his World Atlas of Affective Meanings project, included in his study Cantonese which is a dialect spoken by Chinese people in Kwangtung Province (including Hong Kong) and by a good portion of overseas Chinese. Apparently he did not know that Mandarin, the nationwide spoken language in China, is used by hundreds of millions of Chinese people and is certainly far more important than one Chinese local dialect. This author does not mean to criticise Osgood's plan of study, he is only interested in having the semantic differential technique applied to Chinese Mandarin as well as other languages and to see if Osgood's theory of generality also applies to a non-alphabetic language. To include the semantic differential in the present study will make a good start in that direction although that is not the main objective of research at this moment.

Guidelines for Selecting Scales and Concepts

It is true that there is no strict rule concerning the selection of concepts and scales for a semantic differential. But since all "tests" in the present study are to be given to subjects in two countries, it is

important that every concept should represent a common object or construction in both countries and should mean exactly the same thing. Likewise, all the adjectives representing the scales should have the same meaning in two languages. All verbal elements should be of simple language and in the vocabulary of secondary school pupils. Preference will be given to concepts and scales that have been used in previous studies especially to those included in the Standard List of Substantives of Osgood (1964). The two criteria he suggested, Translative Fidelity and Substantive Productivity, will be observed during the selection of concepts and scales. The final scales will try to include those that represent the three basic semantic factors, Evaluation, Potency and Activity derived by Osgood.

C. The Final Battery

After a rather long process of selection including two trial sessions, the battery of tests for the present project was finally formed. It consisted of three parts which were:

1. The Thematic Apperception Technique with four cards drawn from Murray's TAT 6BM, 14, 8BM, and 12BG which were presented to subjects in this order by group administration.
2. The Semantic Differential which had seven concepts and ten scales.

The CONCEPTS were:	People in General	Wealth	Home	Myself	The World	Future	Most Teachers
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The SCALES were:	Good	- Bad	Powerful	- Powerless
	Beautiful	- Ugly	Strong	- Weak
	Lively	- Quiet	Warm	- Cold
	Important	- Unimportant	Complicated	- Simple
	Happy	- Sad	Friendly	- Hostile
3. The Sentence Completion Test. The High School Form of the Incomplete Sentence Blank (ISB) developed by Rotter and Rafferty (1950) was used. However, some modifications were made:
 - (a) Two new items were added: (i) "THE KIND OF PERSON I WOULD LIKE

TO BE" and (ii) "THE TEST". The first one was suggested by Havighurst (1965) in his study of adolescents in Buenos Aires and Chicago, and the second one was placed at the end of the test to see how subjects felt about it.

- (b) The order of the items was changed as some items were moved to the end because of a few minor complications in translation. This deserves some explanation.

In a test like ISB which has all items in simple words, one would not expect any difficulty in translation, but that is not really true. One characteristic of the ISB items is that they are not complete sentences yet, but stems. By the addition of words they can become a wide variety of sentences with meanings different from one another. But in another language, those sentences might not be developed from the same stem. For example: the two sentences "I REGRET that he cannot come to the party" and "I REGRET that I have committed such a crime" have the same stem "I REGRET" and both can be translated into Chinese without difficulty. But in Chinese, those sentences do not have the same verb or stem; instead, each has a different verbal phrase. Now if one wants to translate just the English stem "I REGRET" into Chinese one would have difficulty in deciding which of the two Chinese verbal phrases one should choose. One can choose either stem when forced to do so, and it is still a perfect translation. But either translated stem can produce only one type of sentence and will never lead to the other. In the case of the sentence completion test, this will be a serious matter because the stem, after being translated into another language, will lose part of its potential meaning. This is probably a kind of unique difficulty in translating the sentence completion items. What should be done then?

One way to solve the problem is to drop these "double-meaning" items and make a shorter test while an alternative is to translate these items according to their most frequently used meaning in the original language. This author chose the second approach in order not to lose any ISB original items. He asked 37 pupils in a Scottish secondary school to make sentences for those double-meaning items (four in number) and sorted their responses to each of them. By doing so, the most frequently used meaning of these verbs was found, and they were trans-

lated into Chinese accordingly to form the Chinese version of the ISB. These items were, however, moved to the end of the test with the idea that if the subjects had not found time to complete the whole test, it would be these double-meaning items they would miss. That was, however, later proved to be an unnecessary manoeuvre because the items that were left uncompleted appeared in almost any part of the test.

The three tests together formed the entire battery which would have a better function than any single instrument. In fact, many researchers including Triandis (1971) have stressed the importance of using more tests. It would also be interesting to find that these three tests belong to three different categories of measurements. The TAT is a well known projective technique which is "considered especially sensitive to covert or unconscious aspects of behaviour...and it evokes unusually rich or profuse response data with a minimum of subject awareness concerning the purpose of the test" (Lindsey, 1961, p.45). In regard to the nature of the sentence completion test, there are still contradictory ideas (Goldberg, 1965, p. 13-15). Perhaps the viewpoint of Hanfmann and Getzel (1953) is an acceptable one as they consider the sentence completion test stands "half way between a projective technique and a questionnaire" (p. 294). Although Rotter and Rafferty (1950) emphasised that the ISB responses tend to provide information that the subject is willing to give, Campbell (1950) classified the test as an indirect method which, according to Triandis (1971), "provides a certain amount of disguise of the intention of the examiner" (p.55). The Semantic Differential, on the other hand, is a straightforward rating scale to which the responses are made by the subject's conscious judgment. He knows clearly that his attitude towards a certain object is being measured and how his responses will be interpreted. Thus these three tests are different approaches in dealing with the subject's feelings and attitudes, though it is not necessary to go along with the "level theory" of Stone and Dollis (1961). There is good reason to expect that the information obtained by one of the three tests will be supplementary to that yielded by the others, and that together they will reveal a more complete picture of the attitudes of the subject.

The test forms of the three instruments are shown in Appendix. . Naturally the English version of them was used in Glasgow while their Chinese translations were used in Taipei.

CHAPTER IV - ADMINISTRATION OF THE TESTS

4.1 Procedure and Sequence of Test Administration

The three tests for the present study were administered to the subjects in one 75 minute session which was about two class periods in Scottish schools. That was the maximum amount of time allowed by school authorities in the Glasgow area for testing, and the tests were, in fact, partly tailored to meet this time restriction. After a trial session during which the entire procedure was timed, it was found that the best sequence for the test administration was this: (i) the TAT, (ii) the Semantic Differential, (iii) the Incomplete Sentence Blank. With such an arrangement, individual differences in speed became noticeable only during the third test. Those pupils who finished the tests before the end of the period were told to do their own work, and usually they did not cause any disturbance.

All these three tests were given in group administration which is a general practice for both the Semantic Differential and the Incomplete Sentence Blank. In the case of the TAT, the group method has also been frequently used, and it has been found that there is not an important difference between group administration and individual methods (Lindsey & Heinemann, 1955). In most of the previous studies with group administration TAT picture slides and projector were used. Under such conditions the room had to be darkened first for the slide-showing, then light switched on for the story writing. A technical problem here is that the rapid light off-on situation often makes it difficult for subjects to adjust their vision for writing, particularly when the time allowed for story writing was rather short. One additional difficulty was that not all schools had facilities to control the lights during daytime; some schools had a specially equipped room for showing visual aids, but it was not always easy to arrange that room for testing. To make things easy, this author decided to use enlarged TAT pictures for group administration. Argyle and Robinson (1962) used picture boards size 24" x 18" in their study of need for Achievement and found the result satisfactory. For the present project, the TAT pictures were enlarged to the size of 40" x 30", nearly twice as big as those used by Argyle and Robinson and probably were the largest pictures which have ever been used. It was found that such pictures could be clearly seen from all seats in a regular size classroom; and it was also

always possible for the experimenter who held the picture to move around a little bit to give every subject a good view.

The administration of the TAT followed the standard procedure suggested by McClelland (1957). The subject was told to write a story for each picture by answering the following four questions: (a) What is happening? Who are the persons? (b) What has led to the situation? That is, what has happened in the past? (c) What is being thought? What is wanted? By whom? (d) What will happen afterwards? What will be done? 75 seconds were allowed to write each question and altogether five minutes for one whole story. The time limit was so set because that had proved satisfactory in previous studies and it had been shown that "five minute stories obtained in group administration are significantly more similar to individual productions than are eight minute ones" (Murstien, 1963, p.46). With the above-mentioned arrangement, the TAT part could generally be completed in twenty-five minutes.

There was no time limit for the Semantic Differential; but since it was rather short, most of the subjects could finish it in ten to twelve minutes without much individual difference in speed. The rest of the time was left for the Incomplete Sentence Blank which also had no time limit. Twenty-five minutes was the average amount of time needed by the majority of the subjects while some slow workers required a longer period. This part was purposely arranged at the end so that there was some flexibility in the time factor.

The present author administered all the tests himself in Glasgow and also most of the sessions in Taipei where he was assisted by a young psychologist. In Scottish schools, the author handled the testing by himself after having been introduced to a class by the Headmaster of the school. To start the session, he made the following explanation:

"My name is ----, and I am a school teacher from Taiwan, Republic of China, where the island is sometimes known as Formosa. In my country, there are young pupils like you boys and girls. They are about the same age as you, have more or less the same kind of school life as you do here. They attend classes, have sports and games, and do some homework in the evenings. But they are different from you in many ways too. For instance; they speak a different language, wear different kind of clothes, and usually have more homework than you do.

What I am interested in is to find out: In what ways they are

similar to you, and in what ways they are different from you. I am here today to ask you to work on some simple, interesting tests, the results of which will tell me something about your interests, feelings and social attitudes. These tests will be given to our Chinese pupils later and their answers will be compared with yours. The results, I think, will be very interesting.

There will be three simple tests, and I am going to show you one at a time. Please just do what you are told to and do the best you can. Now here is the first one."

Following this general introduction, the tests were then administered one after another according to their normal procedures. The instructions are on the test forms (see Appendix .) and they were read and explained to the subjects.

4.2 The Motivation of the Subjects

In a psychological experiment when human subjects are used, it is always important to keep the subjects adequately motivated and make them interested in the tasks they are asked to do, lest the results may not be of any value and sometimes may even lead to unreliable conclusions. The present author was fully aware of this point; so that when he was making plans for the present study, he paid special attention to the psychological conditions of the subjects. Some of his approaches may be worth mentioning:

- (a) Three tests were used; they were all fairly short and each asked for a different kind of response. Unlike the lengthy questionnaires which tend to create the feeling of monotonousness, the present battery seemed to have succeeded in maintaining the interest of the subjects.
- (b) The test forms were so designed that subjects would find it easy and convenient to make responses. For example: both TAT and ISB answer sheets were lined so they were convenient for writing. As subjects often tend to ignore things printed on the second page of a sheet, one side only of the paper was used.

(c) Efforts were made to create a pleasant relaxed atmosphere during test administration. Pupils were told that their stories and answers would not be read by teachers.

In general, the pupils who participated in the study seemed very interested in the tests and were cooperative during test administration. The general richness of the TAT stories and the clearly written sentences in the ISB were good evidence of this. One more proof was the responses they made to the last item of the Incomplete Sentence Blank, "THIS TEST"; 75% of pupils in each sample gave responses that were later classified as "positive feelings". As the ISB was the last test in the sequence, it seems reasonable to generalise that such "positive feelings" could be regarded as their reaction towards the entire test session. The results obtained would, therefore, not be too far away from the true facts that the present study has intended to explore.

CHAPTER V - ANALYSES OF TEST RESULTS

5.1 Results of the Semantic Differential

All responses on the Semantic Differential were scored 1 to 7 depending on their position on a scale: a response made at the most extreme position on the favourable end of a scale (e.g. good, beautiful, etc.) was scored 7 while that at the other extreme (e.g. bad, ugly, etc.) was scored 1; thus a response made at the middle, neutral position would receive a score of 4. That was a very simple procedure, and the number of scores per record in this study would normally be 7×10 (number of concepts \times number of scales). However, an error in printing made one response to the concept "Myself" unscorable, so that there were only 69 scores for each subject.

In previous studies on the semantic differential technique, the central tendency of the scores of a group on a scale was often represented by mean values (Osgood and Suci, 1955; Tanaka and Osgood, 1965). Jenkins et al. even rationalised that "for purposes of analysis of large quantities of data, simplicity and economy argue that the mean measures are much to be preferred", and that the high correlation between means and medians may justify the mean profiles (Jenkins, Russell and Suci, 1958). But while the distribution of scores on a semantic differential scale is frequently skewed (Osgood, 1957) it seems that the median score will always be a more sensitive and more representative measure than the mean. Thus, for the present study, profiles of the median scale values for each concept of the two groups are presented in Tables 5-1 to 5-7. The inter-group comparison of the distributions of each set of those scores was made by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov Two Sample Test (Guilford, 1965, p. 262-267), and the differences are also reported. Two tailed tests were used to determine the significance of those differences.

Concept 1: PEOPLE IN GENERAL

Table 5-1: Median Scale Scores of Both Groups on the Concept
"PEOPLE IN GENERAL"

Scales	Md _S	Md _C	D*	P
Good - Bad	4.29	4.56	0.136	.001
Beautiful - Ugly	3.83	4.11	0.184	.001
Active - Quiet	4.67	4.60	0.094	.05
Important - Unimportant	4.13	5.53	0.245	.001
Happy - Sad	4.69	4.86	0.096	.05
Powerful - Powerless	3.78	4.47	0.157	.001
Strong - Weak	4.03	4.19	0.128	.001
Simple - Complicated	3.44	2.65	0.219	.001
Friendly - Hostile	5.03	5.10	0.054	N.S.
Warm - Cold	4.34	4.89	0.151	.001

Md_S --- Medians of Scottish Subjects; Md_C --- Medians of Chinese Subjects.

D* --- The largest difference between the cumulative frequency distributions of scores of the two groups; its level of significance is determined by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov Two Sample Test. Same in Tables 5-2 to 5-7.

Table 5-1 shows that Chinese adolescents, in general, tended to rate PEOPLE IN GENERAL more favourably than their Scottish counterparts. Chinese pupils saw PEOPLE significantly better, stronger, warmer, and more powerful. They also felt that PEOPLE were more important and happier than did Scottish pupils. However, the former group of subjects thought that PEOPLE were less active than did the latter, while there was no significant difference in their ratings along the "Friendly-Hostile" scale. Both groups seemed to feel that PEOPLE were complicated, and such feelings were significantly stronger among the Chinese. These comparisons are also shown in graphs in Figure 5-1.

Concept 2: THE WORLD

Table 5-2: Median Scale Scores of Both Groups on the Concept
"THE WORLD"

Scales	Md _S	Md _C	D	P
Good - Bad	3.96	5.01	0.208	.001
Beautiful - Ugly	4.83	5.40	0.148	.001
Active - Quiet	1.94	4.71	0.498	.001
Important - Unimportant	5.28	6.16	0.265	.001
Happy - Sad	3.89	4.98	0.194	.001
Powerful - Powerless	3.69	5.31	0.363	.001
Strong - Weak	5.26	5.27	0.098	.05
Simple - Complicated	6.17	0.99	0.744	.001
Friendly - Hostile	3.91	4.16	0.146	.001
Warm - Cold	5.54	4.71	0.152	.001

Again Chinese subjects rated this second concept, "THE WORLD" more favourably than Scottish subjects on eight of the ten scales with significant differences in all those cases. In other words, THE WORLD appeared better, more active, and more beautiful to the Chinese than it did to the Scots; and at the same time, it looked more powerful and more important to the former. However, THE WORLD did not look so warm to Chinese young people as it did to Scottish youths. Nevertheless, the greatest discrepancy in the judgment of the two groups did not come to the fore until they reached the "simple-complicated" scale. It was here that the Chinese pupils gave THE WORLD the lowest rating. As they felt about PEOPLE, the Chinese tended to think that the WORLD was very complicated. Interestingly enough, it was on this same scale that the Scots made their highest rating. Such a discrepancy in attitudes between the two groups can be seen clearly in Fig. 5-2.

Concept 3: "WEALTH"

Table 5-3: Median Scale Scores of Both Groups on the Concept
"WEALTH"

Scales	Md _S	Md _C	D	P
Good - Bad	3.79	3.78	0.065	N.S.
Beautiful - Ugly	3.71	3.65	0.074	N.S.
Active - Quiet	4.21	3.85	0.092	.05
Important - Unimportant	4.33	3.89	0.094	.05
Happy - Sad	3.63	3.74	0.065	N.S.
Powerful - Powerless	5.69	4.79	0.205	.001
Strong - Weak	5.08	4.60	0.099	.05
Simple - Complicated	2.70	2.49	0.117	.01
Friendly - Hostile	3.53	3.29	0.126	.001
Warm - Cold	3.59	3.43	0.099	.05

When it came to the concept of "WEALTH", our two groups of young people seemed to have less difference in their judgments. Among the ten scales, there were no significant differences in their ratings on three of them. WEALTH looked equally bad, equally ugly and equally sad to both the Chinese and the Scots. In fact, both groups of subjects tended to have some negative feelings towards WEALTH, although Scottish subjects generally showed a slightly more favourable attitude. The young people did not fail to recognise the power and the strength of WEALTH in today's world; but the ratings were not extremely high. The Scots felt that WEALTH was a little more active and more important than neutral while the Chinese rated it below the average position in both these two aspects. From the graphs, one can see that all ratings tended to converge on the middle line, and were generally lower than the ratings made for other concepts.

Concept 4: FUTURE

Table 5-4: Median Scale Scores of Both Groups on the Concept
"FUTURE"

Scales	Md _S	Md _C	D	P
Good - Bad	4.60	5.88	0.221	.001
Beautiful - Ugly	4.18	5.68	0.279	.001
Active - Quiet	5.09	4.37	0.213	.001
Important - Unimportant	6.12	6.16	0.033	N.S.
Happy - Sad	4.77	5.66	0.190	.001
Powerful - Powerless	4.95	5.11	0.036	N.S.
Strong - Weak	4.89	5.35	0.111	.01
Simple - Complicated	2.12	2.55	0.058	N.S.
Friendly - Hostile	4.39	5.41	0.184	.001
Warm - Cold	3.98	5.46	0.262	.001

In looking at the FUTURE, Chinese pupils generally seemed to have a brighter view. On six of the ten scales, they gave significantly higher positive ratings to this concept than did the Scottish subjects. The differences were considerably great on four scales: the Chinese rated the FUTURE rather good, beautiful, friendly and warm; but the Scots tended to adopt a more conservative viewpoint with their ratings very close to the neutral position. The only occasion on which the Scots made a higher rating was on the "active-quiet" scale where they felt that the FUTURE was more active than did the Chinese. Concerning the power, the importance and the complicatedness of the FUTURE, the two groups shared a rather similar opinion: the FUTURE was powerful, very important, but quite complicated.

Concept 5: "FAMILY"

Table 5-4: Median Scale Scores of both Groups on the Concept
"FAMILY"

Scales	Md _S	Md _C	D	P
Good - Bad	6.25	6.24	0.031	N.S.
Beautiful - Ugly	5.54	6.15	0.262	.001
Active - Quiet	5.10	5.05	0.039	N.S.
Important - Unimportant	6.22	6.29	0.069	N.S.
Happy - Sad	6.07	6.13	0.040	N.S.
Powerful - Powerless	4.06	5.45	0.227	.001
Strong - Weak	4.69	5.03	0.094	.05
Simple - Complicated	3.85	4.07	0.116	.01
Friendly - Hostile	6.23	6.18	0.037	N.S.
Warm - Cold	6.08	6.23	0.110	.01

Among the seven concepts used in the present study, FAMILY was the one that generally received from the two groups the most favourable ratings; all but one were above the neutral position. It was also this concept towards which the two groups of young people had the greatest amount of agreement in their attitudes. On five of the ten scales, there were no significant differences between the ratings made by the Chinese pupils in Taipei and those of Scottish adolescents in Glasgow. To both groups, the FAMILY appeared to be equally good, equally active, equally happy, equally friendly, and equally important. However, it did not look so beautiful nor so warm to the Scots as it did to the Chinese. Along with that, the Scottish subjects did not think that the FAMILY has the same amount of power and strength as it appeared to have in the eyes of the Chinese adolescents. Besides these differences, the ratings of the two groups were indeed very close to one another on most of the scales. This similarity in attitudes is vividly presented in Fig. 5-4 in which the two graphs nearly coincide with each other.

Concept 6: "MOST TEACHERS"

Table 5-6: Median Scale Scores of Both Groups on the Concept
"MOST TEACHERS"

Scales	Md _s	Md _c	D	P
Good - Bad	3.93	5.83	0.390	.001
Beautiful - Ugly	3.31	4.63	0.405	.001
Active - Quiet	4.34	2.71	0.339	.001
Important - Unimportant	5.17	5.93	0.182	.001
Happy - Sad	4.00	5.07	0.241	.001
Powerful - Powerless	5.13	5.46	0.083	N.S.
Strong - Weak	4.42	4.78	0.094	.05
Simple - Complicated	2.77	3.44	0.180	.001
Friendly - Hostile	4.16	5.83	0.338	.001
Warm - Cold	3.46	5.31	0.443	.001

There is little doubt that teachers in China are different from teachers in Scotland, and indeed they are different in the eyes of their own students. In general, Chinese pupils tended to rate their teachers more favourably than their Scottish friends did. The one lower score of Chinese teachers does not at all suggest their weak point because to be quiet is often considered a virtue in China, especially among learned people. The three highest ratings made by Chinese pupils indicate that to them most TEACHERS were good, important and friendly. The Scottish students seemed to have a different impression about their teachers. Although they still recognised the importance and power of the latter, their ratings were much lower than those made by Chinese pupils on Chinese teachers. The Chinese felt that TEACHERS were complicated and the Scots had the same feeling but much stronger. Perhaps the most disappointing phenomenon was that the Scottish youths tended to see their TEACHERS as neither very friendly nor warm.

Concept 7: "MYSELF"

Table 5-7: Median Scale Scores of Both Groups on the Concept
"MYSELF"

Scales	Md _S	Md _C	D	P
Good - Bad	5.22	4.64	0.134	.001
Beautiful - Ugly	4.39	3.77	0.173	.001
Active - Quiet	5.34	4.55	0.147	.001
Important - Unimportant	3.93	5.48	0.266	.001
Happy - Sad	6.05	5.64	0.152	.001
Powerful - Powerless	3.77	4.03	0.081	N.S.
Strong - Weak	4.66	4.50	0.086	N.S.
Simple - Complicated	3.45	3.88	0.173	.001
Friendly - Hostile	5.92	5.84	0.068	N.S.

Young people may not have a thorough self-understanding, but they have feelings towards themselves. It is found here that both Chinese and Scottish adolescents tended to see themselves as not powerful, only moderately strong, but very friendly. They also felt that they themselves were somewhat complicated just as they felt about other matters in the world, and the Scots seemed to have a stronger feeling in that respect. On the other hand, Chinese subjects tended to hold a humbler attitude in regard to their own goodness, beauty, and activeness, and rated themselves significantly lower than the Scots. In spite of that, Chinese young people still felt that they were important while Scottish youths considered themselves of only neutral importance. The graphs (Fig. 5-7) in general, do not present a very outstanding portrait. One point which may comfort the adult is that our young people felt that they were happy, particularly the Scottish adolescents.

Fig. 5-1: Median scores on People in General

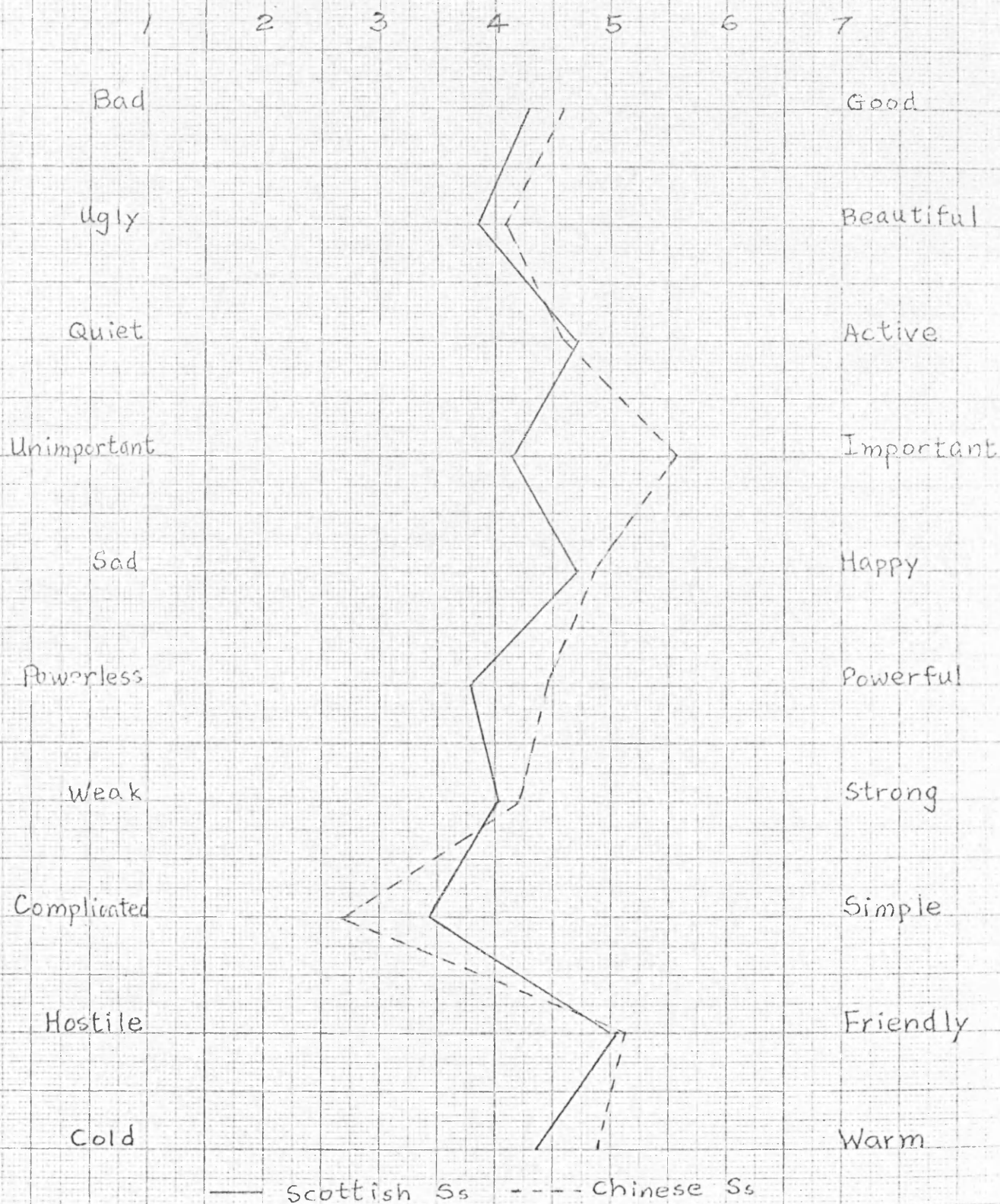


Fig. 5-2: Median scores on THE WORLD

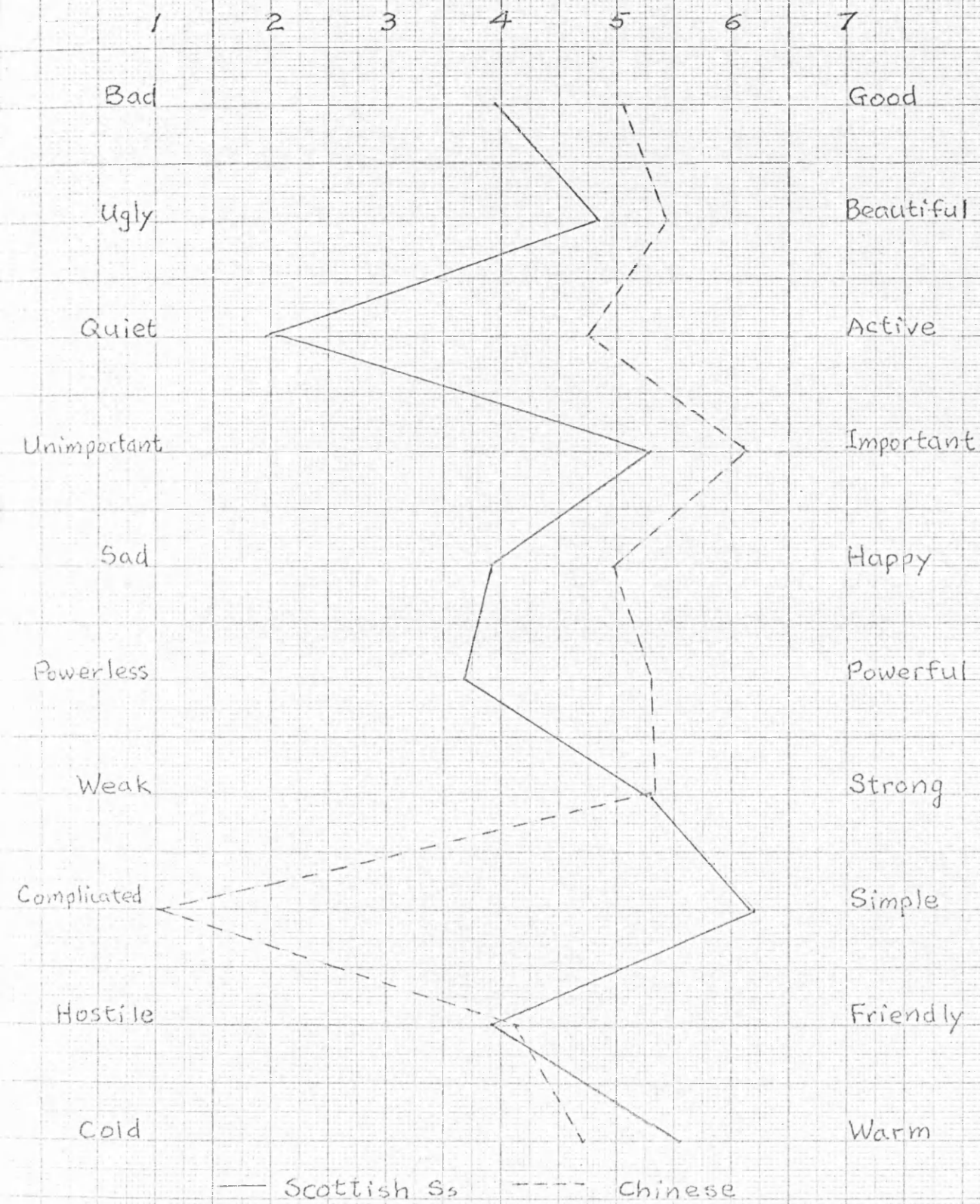


Fig. 5-3: Median scores on WEALTH

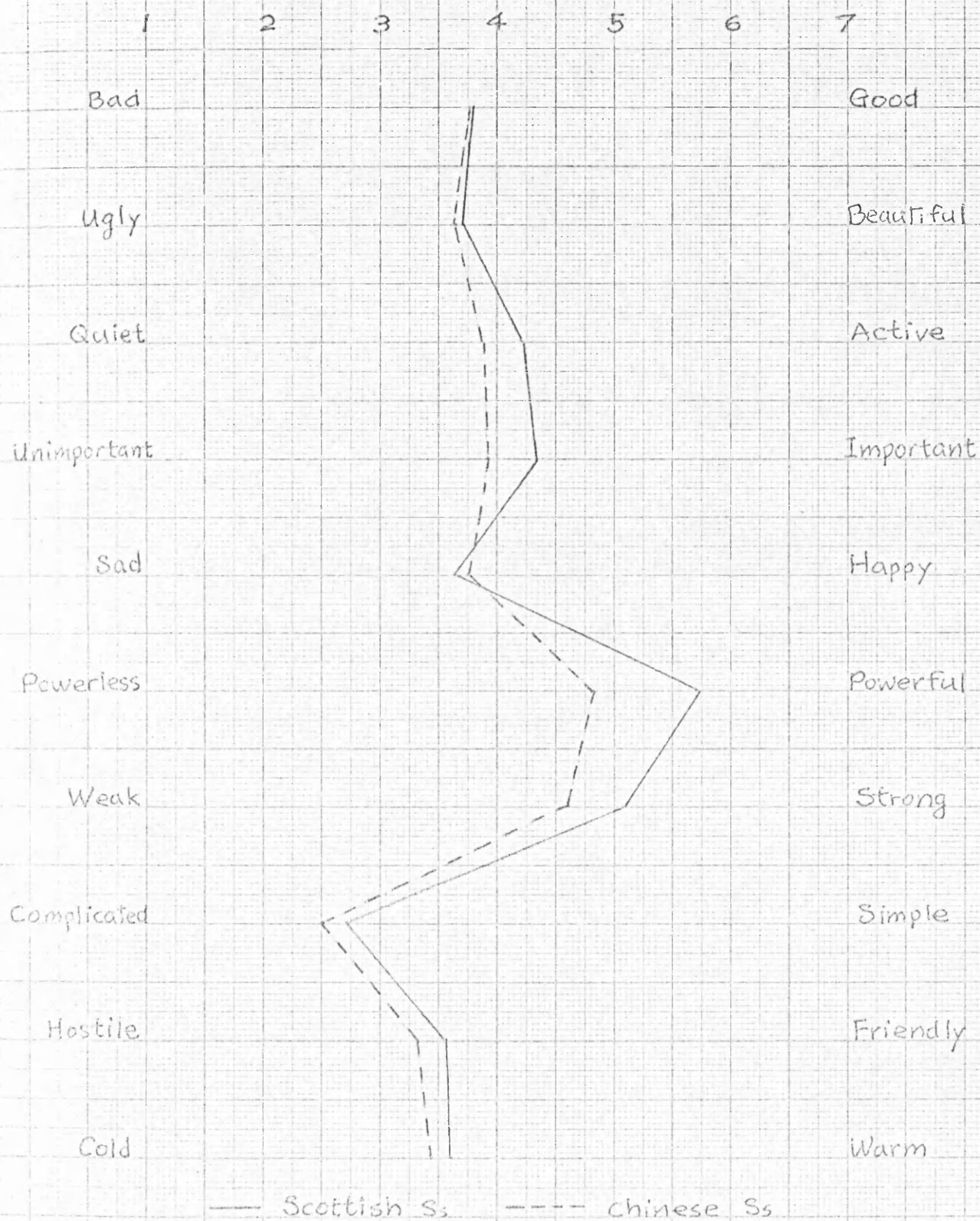


Fig. 5-4: Median scores on THE FUTURE

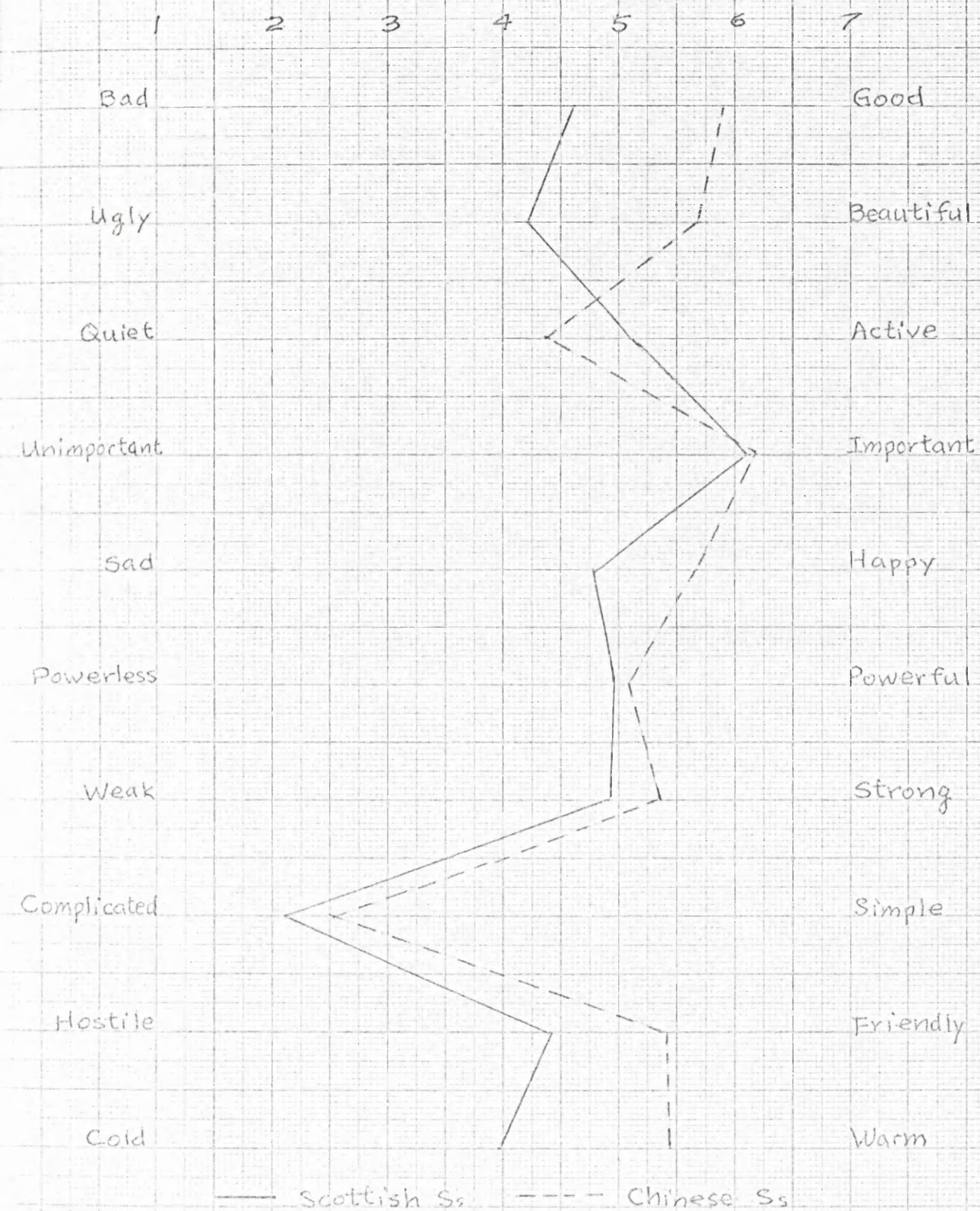


Fig. 5-5: Median Scores on FAMILY

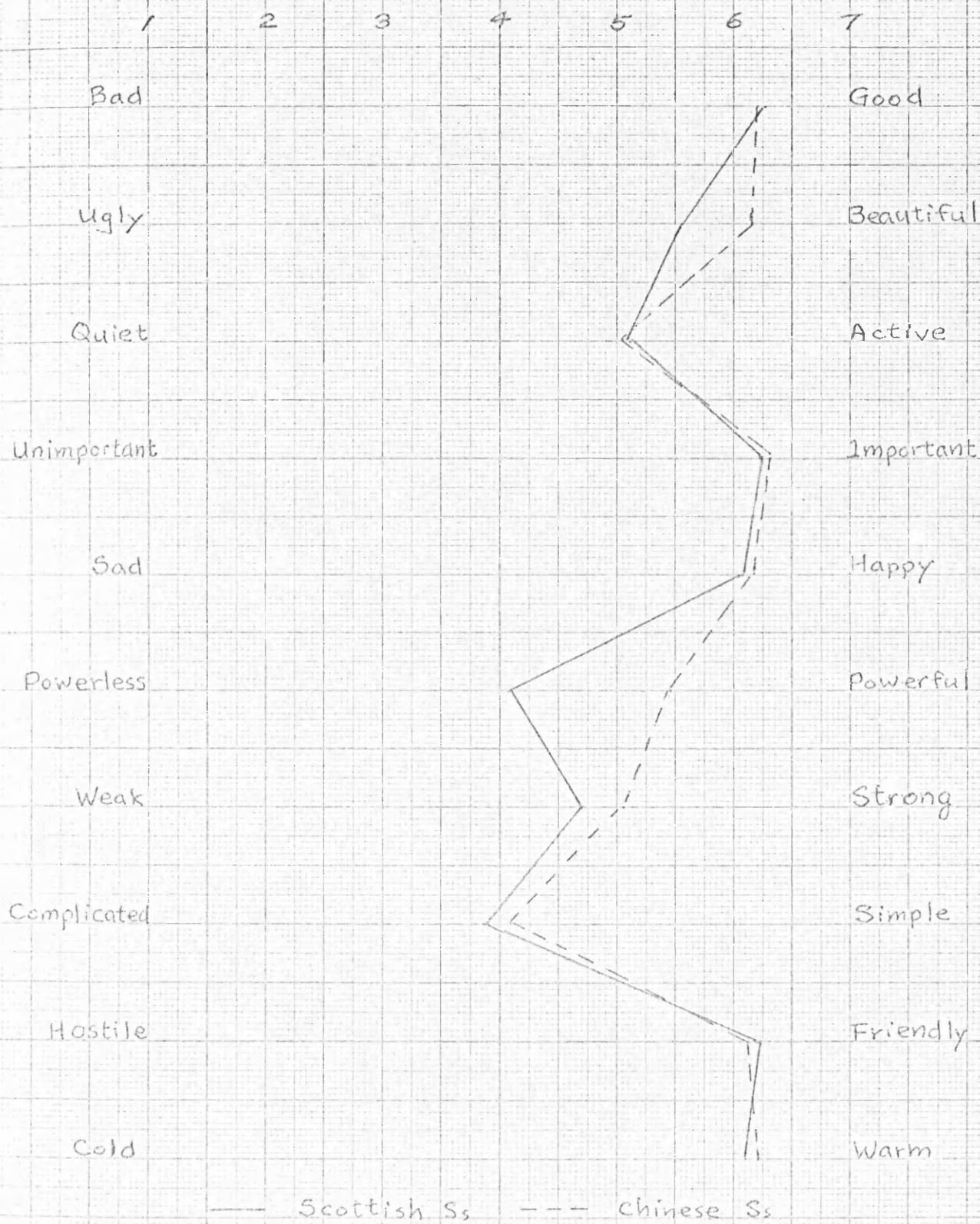


Fig. 5-6: Median scores on MOST TEACHERS

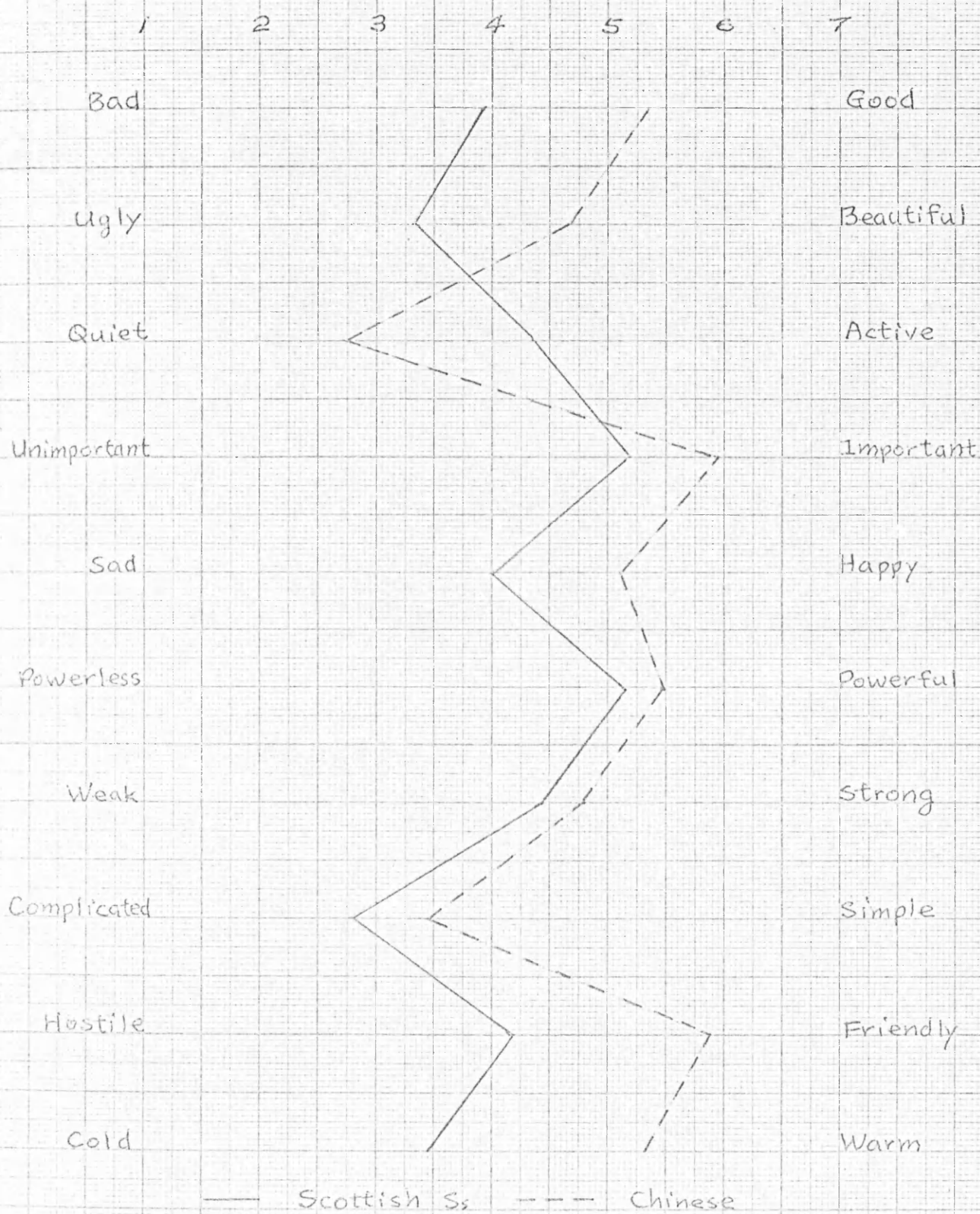
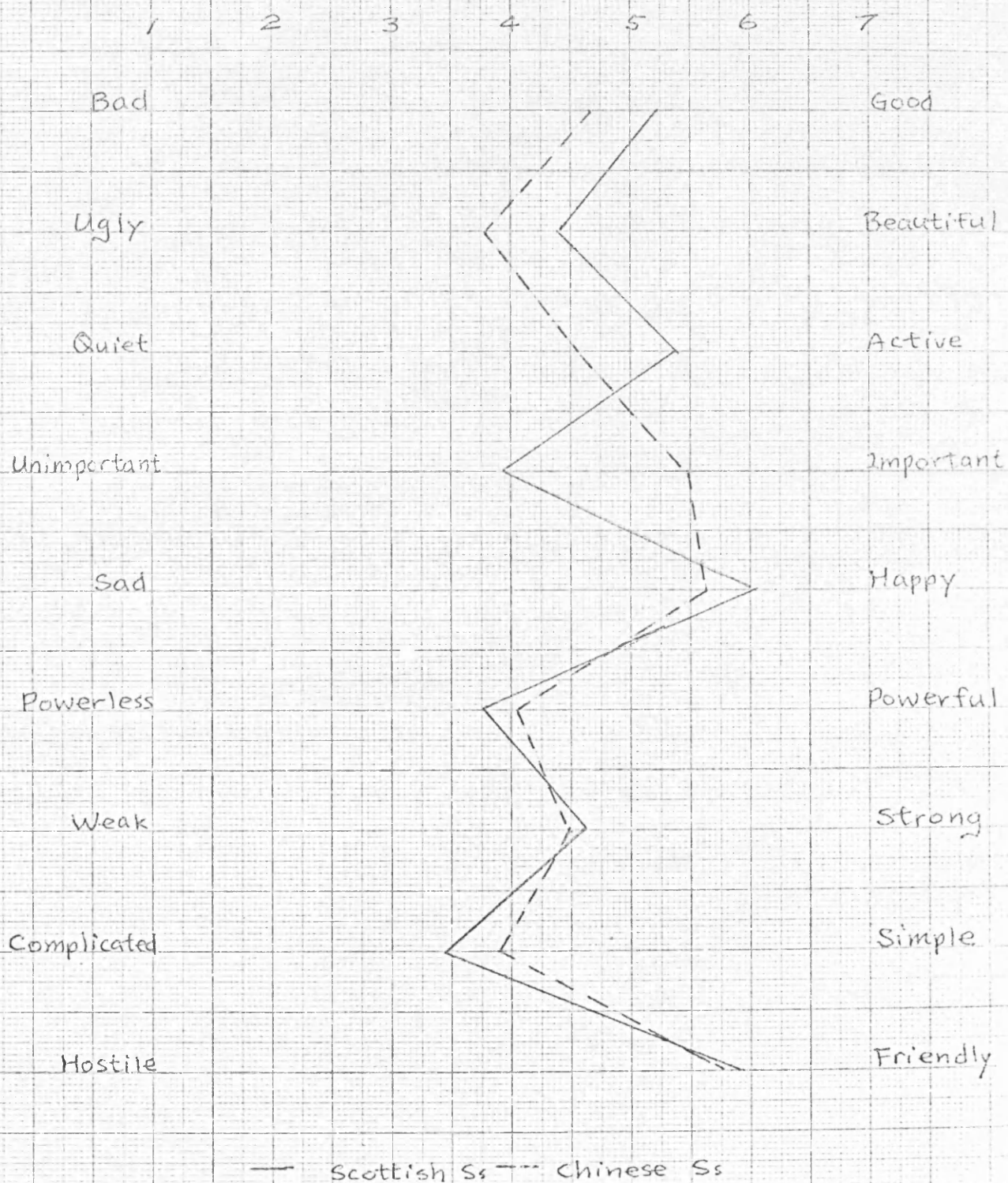


Fig. 5-7: Median scores on MYSELF



Factor Analyses of the Semantic Differential Ratings

The semantic ratings of the two groups were finally analysed by applying Thurstone's Centroid Factor Method and the factors thus derived were rotated by using Kaiser's (1958) Varimax simple structure criterion. Three factors were found for the Scottish subjects and for the Chinese pupils and they are shown in Table 5-8. These factors were identified as Evaluation, Potency, and Activity as suggested by Osgood et al. (1957); and the first factor, as had been found in other studies (e.g. Morsbach, 1967), was more dominant than the other two factors. Together those factors accounted for about 60 per cent of the total variance which was a little greater than was expected (Osgood and Suci, 1955). The result was additional evidence of the cross language and cross cultural generality of the semantic structure as demonstrated in several studies by Osgood and his associates (Osgood, 1960, 1962; Triandis and Osgood, 1956; Tanaka, Oyama, and Osgood, 1963; Tanaka and Osgood, 1965).

What we are more interested in at this moment is the similarity of the factorial structures of the two groups. The indices have been calculated by the Wrigley-Neuhaus (1955) method and are shown in Table 5-9. It is clearly indicated that the indices of similarity for all three factors (i.e. SE vs. CE, SP vs. CP, and SA vs. CA in Table 5-9) are very high and are much greater than the 0.75 criterion of similarity suggested by Triandis and Osgood (1958). It seems, therefore, that while Chinese and English are two entirely different languages, they have very similar semantic structures.

5.2.4 Results of the Incomplete Sentence Blank

There are many different methods of scoring a protocol of a sentence completion test such as the Incomplete Sentence Blank (ISB), but none of them has been recognised as the best approach. While some investigators were interested in Formal Analysis which dealt with the non-meaningful properties of the sentence completion responses (e.g. length of completion, use of personal pronouns, etc.), most researchers favoured Content Analysis with an attempt to develop objective scoring systems. To

Table 5-8: The Three Varimax Rotated Factors in
Judging Seven Concepts

Scales	Evaluation		Potency		Activity	
	Scots	Chinese	Scots	Chinese	Scots	Chinese
	(SE)	(CE)	(SP)	(CP)	(SA)	(CA)
Good - Bad	.78	.69	.09	.36	.06	.09
Beautiful - Ugly	.69	.56	.24	.47	.06	.05
Active - Quiet	.01	.02	.20	.13	.90	.95
Important - Unimportant	.41	.46	.48	.48	.02	.01
Happy - Sad	.78	.67	.08	.29	.12	.15
Powerful - Powerless	.03	.13	.82	.69	.05	.03
Strong - Weak	.20	.17	.71	.66	.15	.21
Simple - Complicated	.39	.58	.39	.44	.36	.22
Friendly - Hostile	.81	.83	.01	.06	.09	.07
Warm - Cold	.76	.79	.03	.18	.17	.01
% of Variance	32.8	31.5	16.7	18.2	10.2	10.3

Table 5-9: Indices of Cross Culture Factorial Similarity

	SE	SP	SA	CE	CP	CA
SE	-	0.20	0.16	<u>0.98</u>	0.47	0.07
SP	-	-	0.15	0.21	<u>0.94</u>	0.29
SA	-	-	-	0.25	0.09	<u>0.88</u>
CE	-	-	-	-	0.44	0.08
CP	-	-	-	-	-	0.15
CA	-	-	-	-	-	-

mention a few of the latter group: Sacks (1950) developed a four point scoring scale to determine the degree of disturbance in certain areas; Renner (1962) suggested a detailed method for scoring dependency, anxiety and hostility; Rohde (1957) analysed sentence completion responses in accordance with a comprehensive list of variables including needs, need integrates, inner states and traits; Rotter and Rafferty (1960) classified the responses into 3 P (positive) classes, 3 C (conflict) classes and a N (neutral) class according to their degree of conflict and scored them on a 7-point scale with the total score as an index of general adjustment of the subject. Each of these methods has its merits, but none of them seems to be very suitable for the present study. As a scoring system is always developed from some kind of scaling standardised in a particular culture, it would often be inappropriate for cross-cultural studies. One can easily see that a C3 class sentence in one culture according to Rotter's scoring manual may not be an indication of a serious conflict or disturbance in another culture. Because of this basic difficulty, the idea of SCORING the responses of the Incomplete Sentence Blank has been dropped in this study. Instead, responses to an item are classified into various categories according to their meaning and the emotional tone. There is, however, not one fixed, predetermined set of categories prepared for this purpose. On the contrary, the categories used here are derived entirely from the empirical data. The responses to each item in 100 records were recorded and sorted according to their manifest content into groups or subgroups. Again, there was no fixed number of groups nor was there a rigid pattern of categorisation. Responses to two different items could be classified into two different sets of categories. The main principle was to leave a response free from distortion and misinterpretation when it was categorised, yet to provide some useful information concerning its content. For illustration, an example is given below.

An example of Categorisation:

Categorisation I: For responses to Items A MOTHER, MY FATHER, BOYS,
MOST GIRLS, and PEOPLE

I. POSITIVE FEELINGS:

- 10. General descriptions: (good, nice, great, fine...)
- 11. With good virtues: (kindly, friendly, works hard...)

12. With good qualities: (intelligent, capable, beautiful...)
13. With positive relationships with the respondent: (Kind, nurturant to the respondent; liked, respected by the respondent.)
14. Needed in or important to a family or the community.
15. Sometimes good, some are good.
16. Good in specific skill, sport, or activity.
17. Referred to a specific group of people or to a particular person.)
18. In good condition or mood, happy, in good health.
19. Other positive statements.

II. NEGATIVE FEELINGS

20. General descriptions: (bad, terrible ...)
21. With aggressive traits: (rough, bully, jealous...)
22. With unpleasant qualities: (silly, stupid, ugly ...)
23. With negative relationships with the respondent.
24. Just makes one angry, annoyed.
25. Sometimes bad, some are bad.
26. Referred to a specific person or group.
28. In negative condition or mood.
29. Other negative descriptions.

III. NEUTRAL DESCRIPTIONS

30. General, unaffactive descriptions: boys are boys, my father is a man.
31. Related to sports, games, or activities.
32. Physical characteristics.
33. Clothing and appearance
34. Boy-Girl relationships.
37. With specific illness
38. Neutral but negatively toned descriptions
39. Others

IV. AUTHORITARIAN CHARACTERISTICS

41. Exerts pressure on the academic work of the respondent.

- 42. Exerts pressure on discipline.
- 43. Is otherwise feared by the respondent.
- 44. With great expectation of the respondent.

V. OCCUPATIONAL DESCRIPTIONS

- 51. With respectable professional jobs.
- 52. With lower class jobs.
- 53. With average jobs.

VI. OBLIGATIONS

- 60. General.
- 61. Should cooperate with each other, be sympathetic....
- 62. Should educate and take care of one's children.
- 63. Should serve the community or nation.
- 64. Should have a distant goal or ambition.
- 65. Should work hard.
- 67. Should be brave, manly...
- 68. Should share the work in the house (for men or boys).
- 69. Others

VII. SEPARATION OR DEATH

- 71. Dead or missing.
- 72. Separation.

IX. OTHERS

- 90. Others.

It should be pointed out that the above mentioned procedure of categorisation was developed mainly for the present research to investigate the attitudes of the two groups of young people. It may not necessarily be the most suitable approach for other purposes.

Note: It is to be noted that the subcategories in Category I are numbered 10, 11... to 19, and those in Category II, 20 to 29, and so on. This system of numbering is kept consistent for the analyses of all ISB items. It will be helpful in reading the tables in the following pages.

As was mentioned before, the revised Incomplete Sentence Blank (ISB) had 42 items, but only the responses to 21 items have been analysed in this report. The reason is to keep a good balance of the results from all three tests used in this study and to avoid an over-dominance of any one of them. The items that would elicit responses related to feelings and attitudes towards people, towards one's social environment, concerning one's needs, wishes, fears, and worries are selected for comparison. Some items are left unchosen due to one of the following reasons: (a) with a double meaning stem; (b) with greatly diffused responses which are difficult to sort into categories; or (c) involving some activity in which adolescents in one culture do not have sufficient experience to express their own attitudes (such as dating and dancing to Chinese subjects). The final list consists of 20 items which are given below:

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|--------------------------|
| 9. People | 10. A Mother | 30. My Father |
| 5. Boys | 35. Most Girls | 32. I |
| 4. At Home | 26. At Home | |
| 1. I like | 21. I Need | 29. I Wish |
| 2. The Happiest Time | | |
| 12. My Greatest Fear | 28. The Only Trouble | |
| 8. What Annoys Me | 38. I Regret | 34. My Greatest Worry is |
| 20. The Future | 36. The Kind of Person I Would Like To Be | |
| 42. The Test | | |

The responses given by the two groups of subjects will be presented in categories in the following paragraphs item by item. In making comparisons, a chi square was first computed to see if there was a significant difference between the over-all distribution of categorisation of the two groups. When the chi square was large enough to indicate the existence of a substantial difference, then the percentages of responses which fall into each category would be compared to determine where the differences actually lie, (indicated by a 'z' and its related significance in each row). In some cases, the analysis has gone further to the level of subcategories to secure a clearer picture

of the attitudes of the subjects.

Item 10. A MOTHER

Table 5-10: Comparisons of the Responses to Item 10: A MOTHER

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I Positive feelings	355	79.42	356	78.41	0.45***
II Negative feelings	17	3.80	3	0.66	3.14**
III Neutral descriptions	16	3.58	23	5.07	1.05 n.s.
IV Authoritarian descriptions	3	0.67	9	1.98	1.72 n.s.
V Obligations and responsibilities	54	12.08	59	12.99	0.42 n.s.
IX Others	2	0.55	4	0.81	
Total	447		454		
$\chi^2 = 14.92$ $P < 0.05$					

*P 0.05, **P 0.01, ***P 0.001, n.s. - no significant difference.
The level of significance of 'z' will be indicated in this manner in all the tables to follow.

Table 5-10a: Responses in the Subcategories of POSITIVE FEELINGS

Positive feelings subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
10. General	48	10.74	153	33.70	8.11***
11. With good virtues	86	19.24	103	22.69	1.30 n.s.
12. With good qualities	20	4.47	10	2.20	2.27*
13. Good relationships	87	19.45	34	7.49	5.34***
14. Needed or important in family	104	23.27	43	9.47	5.62***
15. Some are good	9	2.01	2	0.44	2.22*
19. Others	1	0.22	11	2.42	

Note: Percentages in this table are calculated against the total population of each sample, i.e. 447 for the Scots, 454 for the Chinese. Similar treatment will be applied for the ISB subcategory frequencies in other tables to follow.

Although the chi square here shows that there is a significant

difference between the responses of the two groups to the Item A MOTHER, the difference actually appeared only in one of the five categories. There were more Scottish adolescents than Chinese pupils who showed negative feelings towards A MOTHER. In fact, the number of such responses was very small, less than 4% of the total Scottish sample. It was only the fact that there were still less Chinese subjects who made negative responses that had brought the group difference up to the significant level. Aside from this, the young people from the two countries had indeed a very similar attitude towards the mother, with about 80% of them showing definite positive feelings. There was a considerable number of subjects in both groups who mentioned the responsibilities of the MOTHER, but there was no group difference in this aspect.

However, if one looks into the subcategories of the first category, one will find some interesting contrasts between the responses of the two groups. While they were all praising the virtues of the MOTHER, the Scottish youths tended to relate themselves to the mother ("A mother means the most to me I think"), and to emphasise her important role in the family more frequently than did the Chinese subjects who, on the other hand, gave more general positive descriptions such as "A mother is the greatest person in the world".

Item 30: "MY FATHER"

From Table 5-II, one can see clearly that there were significantly more Chinese pupils giving positive-feeling responses to "MY FATHER" while the Scots tended to give more neutral responses by making statements such as "My father goes to work", "My father is forty years old", or by describing the father's physical characteristics. The Scottish subjects also gave the occupation of their fathers significantly more frequently than the Chinese subjects. This was true in both cases of high professional positions and of average working class jobs. In both groups, scarcely anyone mentioned anything concerning the obligations or responsibilities of the FATHER. Among the positive responses, again more Scottish pupils tended to report the pleasant relationships they had with their fathers while significantly more Chinese adolescents described their fathers as people with good virtues ("My father is a

very responsible person"), or in general, abstract but positive terms ("My father is very kind"). One interesting point was that very few young pupils, both Scottish and Chinese, seem to have paid the same amount of attention as they did in the case of the MOTHER to the importance of a father in a family.

Table 5-II: Comparisons of Responses to Item "MY FATHER"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I Positive feelings	187	42.12	312	69.64	8.31***
II Negative feelings	37	8.33	26	5.80	1.46 n.s.
III Neutral descriptions	70	15.77	16	3.57	6.10***
IV Authoritarian descriptions	26	5.86	21	4.69	0.83 n.s.
V Occupational description	111	25.00	67	14.95	3.80***
VI Obligations and responsibilities	3	0.68	-	-	1.52 n.s.
XII Death and separation	5	1.12	6	1.33	0.31 n.s.
IX Others	5	1.12	-	-	
Total	444		448		
$\chi^2 = 81.11$ P < 0.001					

Table 5-IIa: Responses in Subcategories of Positive Feelings

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
10. General descriptions	43	9.68	74	16.52	3.05**
11. Good virtues	57	12.84	155	34.60	7.69***
12. With good qualities	5	1.13	24	5.36	4.23***
13. With good relationships	72	16.22	39	8.71	3.35***
14. Needed or important to family	2	0.45	2	0.44	- n.s.
15. Some are good	6	1.35	14	3.13	1.78 n.s.
19. Others	2	0.45	4	0.88	- n.s.

Item 5: "BOYS"

While the majority of the Scottish youngsters (64.29%) felt that BOYS were good and wonderful, only about one third of their Chinese

counterparts shared their feelings. On the other hand, there were significantly more Chinese subjects (32.60%) than Scottish pupils who showed negative attitudes towards BOYS who were seen as rough, naughty or bad. In most cases, however, these were rather general descriptions without mentioning any really serious shortcomings of boys (subcategories 20 & 24). Another significant fact was that many Chinese subjects tended to make obligation statements about boys, stressing that boys should serve their community and nation, should have ambitious goals, and should be brave and manly, (subcategories 61-63). In contrast, very few Scottish subjects made that kind of response.

Table 5-12: Comparisons of Responses to Item "BOYS"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I Positive feelings	288	64.29	129	28.41	10.84***
II Negative feelings	79	17.63	148	32.60	5.31***
III Neutral descriptions	75	16.67	83	18.28	0.63 n.s.
IV Obligations & responsibilities	6	1.34	90	19.82	8.99***
IX Others	-	-	4	0.88	
Total	448		454		
$\chi^2 = 159.44$ P < 0.001					

Table 5-12a: Comparisons in Subcategories of Responses to Item 5

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
10. General positive descriptions	102	22.77	13	2.86	8.89***
13. Good relationships	45	10.04	8	1.76	5.87***
15. Some are good	54	12.05	19	4.19	4.54***
20. General negative descriptions	5	1.12	60	13.22	6.99***
24. They annoy you	12	2.68	38	8.37	4.03***
60 General obligations	6	1.34	4	0.88	0.65 n.s.
61 Should serve one's community and nation	-	-	30	6.60	5.57***
62 Should have great goals	-	-	25	5.50	5.02***
63 Should be brave and manly	-	-	27	5.94	5.21***
64 Do some work at home	-	-	4	0.88	1.96*

Item 35: "MOST GIRLS"

Table 5-13: Comparisons of Responses to "MOST GIRLS"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I Positive feelings	212	47.53	255	56.92	2.84**
II Negative feelings	119	26.68	127	28.35	0.04 n.s.
III Neutral descriptions	112	25.11	65	14.51	3.85***
IV Obligations & responsibilities	1	0.22	1	0.22	
IX Others	2	0.45	-		
Total	446		448		
$\chi^2 = 10.68 \quad P < 0.05$					

Table 5-13a: Response-frequencies to Item 35 in some subcategories

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
10 General positive descriptions	91	20.40	92	20.54	0.00 n.s.
11 Good virtues	28	6.28	78	17.41	5.37***
12 Pleasant qualities	33	7.40	62	13.84	3.14**
13 Positive relationship with the respondent	40	8.97	6	1.34	5.14***
22 Unpleasant qualities	79	17.71	80	17.86	0.06 n.s.
31 Activities & Sports	13	2.91	26	5.80	2.10*
32 Physical characteristics	23	5.16	2	0.45	4.30***
33 Clothing, appearance	22	4.93	6	1.34	3.03**
34 Boy-Girl relationships	31	6.95	11	2.46	3.18**

The findings here (Table 5-13) indicate that the majority of the Chinese subjects and nearly half of the Scottish subjects showed positive feelings towards MOST GIRLS. While the Chinese pointed out more frequently the "virtues" and the "pleasant qualities of the girls, the Scots mentioned more often their positive relations with girls ("Most girls like me"), (Subcategories 11-13, Table 5-13a). The frequencies of

negative responses were very much the same in the two groups; that was true even in one of the subcategories (subcategory 22). However, there were significantly more Scottish youths than Chinese ones who made neutral, unaffektive responses, describing the "physical characteristics" ("Most girls are average in height") or "clothing and appearance" of the girls ("Most girls wear mini skirts") without either praise or criticism. The "boy-girl" relationships ("Most girls have boy friends") were more frequently mentioned by the Scots. There was only one individual in each group who pointed out the obligation and responsibility of girls.

Item 9: "PEOPLE"

Table 5-14: Comparisons of Responses to "PEOPLE"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I Positive feelings	256	57.14	219	48.34	2.64*
II Negative feelings	106	23.66	97	21.41	0.81 n.s.
III Neutral descriptions	60	13.39	77	17.00	1.51 n.s.
IV Obligations & responsibilities	25	5.58	58	12.80	3.75***
IX Others	1	0.22	2	0.44	
	<hr/>		<hr/>		
Total	448		453		
<hr/>					
$\chi^2 = 18.84$			P < 0.001		

It is clearly shown here that adolescents in the two countries generally had positive attitudes towards PEOPLE; but the responses made by the Scottish subjects in this category significantly outnumbered those of the Chinese youngsters. The difference was mainly in the subcategory of General Descriptions ("People are very friendly on the whole"). General evaluative statements were also very frequently found in responses in the categories of "Negative feelings" and "Neutral descriptions" but there was no significant difference between the two groups in either of these two categories. Only a small portion of the Scottish pupils mentioned the "Obligations & Responsibilities" of PEOPLE (5.58%) but their Chinese counterparts showed a much stronger tendency to make such responses ("People should be sympathetic to others").

Item 32: "I"

Table 5-15: Comparisons of Responses to "I"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I Positive feelings	45	10.05	129	28.79	7.14***
II Negative feelings	26	5.80	64	14.29	4.22***
III Neutral descriptions	64	14.29	83	18.53	1.71 n.s.
IV Sports & activities	71	15.85	59	13.17	1.14 n.s.
V Likes & dislikes	110	24.55	61	13.62	4.17***
VI Needs	17	3.79	-		4.16***
VII Wishes & expectations	93	20.76	47	10.49	4.23***
VIII Referring to school, community, etc.	17	3.79	2	0.45	3.48***
IX Others	3	0.67	1	0.22	
Total	446		446		
$\chi^2 =$		P <			

Table 5-15a: Frequencies in some subcategories of Responses to Item 32

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
12 With pleasant qualities	9	2.01	36	8.04	4.27***
14 Good relations with others	16	3.57	30	6.70	2.22*
16 With positive emotional state	4	0.89	25	5.58	4.69***
22 With unpleasant qualities	6	1.34	22	4.91	3.57***
23 Inferior feelings	3	0.67	15	3.35	2.68**
51 Like certain person(s)	17	3.79	8	1.79	2.00*
52 Like certain object(s)	35	7.37	13	2.90	3.17**
56 Dislike certain object(s)	18	4.02	6	1.34	2.68**
73 Self improvement	7	1.56	10	2.23	0.75 n.s.
75 Realisation of plans	24	5.36	5	1.12	3.58***
76 Getting a job	20	4.46	6	1.34	2.74**
78 Improving interpersonal relationships	12	2.68	3	0.67	2.40*
71 General achievement	1	0.22	9	2.01	2.53*

To the item "I", there seemed to be a greater variety of responses than to other items. It was also found that the two groups showed many more differences in completing the sentence. A considerable portion of the Chinese subjects made evaluative responses with either Positive or Negative feelings, whereas only a small number of the Scottish pupils gave a similar reaction. This was also true for the responses in the category of Neutral descriptions. On the other hand, the Scots demonstrated a greater tendency to express their Likes and Dislikes ("I do not like homework"), to claim their Needs, and to put forward their Goals and Expectations ("I would like to become a pilot"). Further investigation of the responses in Category 7 (subcategories 71-78) reveal something significant: the Scottish adolescents tended to talk more frequently about their wishes concerning the realisation of a certain plan ("I would like to go to Spain for a holiday") or the search for a job, while the Chinese often just showed their need of general achievement ("I want to be a useful person"). The Chinese youths also saw the need of self-improvement ("I want to be a good citizen") more frequently than the Scottish subjects although the group difference in this aspect was not extraordinary.

Item 4: "AT HOME"

Table 5-16: Comparisons of Responses to "AT HOME"

Categories		Scots		Chinese		z
		f	%	f	%	
I	Positive feelings	162	36.74	116	25.66	3.42***
II	Negative feelings	32	7.26	51	11.28	2.08*
III	Activities	202	45.81	157	34.74	3.71***
IV	Neutral descriptions	45	10.20	125	27.66	7.24***
IX	Others	-		3	0.66	
		<hr/>		<hr/>		
Total		441		452		
$\chi^2 = 68.25$ P < 0.001						

Table 5-16a: Frequencies in some Subcategories of Responses to Item 4

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
11 General happiness	96	21.77	28	6.19	6.95***
13 Likes family members, general	15	9.75	7	9.29	0.23 n.s.
14 Good relations with parents	16		29		
15 Good relations with siblings	12		6		
31 Helping with House Work	57	12.93	37	8.19	2.40*
32 Watching TV	85	19.29	36	7.96	5.05***
38 Being an Active Member	1	0.23	27	5.97	3.92***
25 Doesn't get along with Siblings	6	1.36	13	2.88	1.52 n.s.
28 Dull and uninteresting at home	5	1.13	14	3.10	2.07*
43 Birth order, number of siblings	14	3.17	76	16.81	6.82***

The figures shown in Table 5-16 seem very interesting. There were significantly more Scottish pupils than Chinese subjects who expressed positive feelings towards HOME or related it to some kind of activity. On the other hand, the Chinese subjects outnumbered their Scottish counterparts in both categories of "Neutral descriptions" and "Negative feelings". A detailed analysis has revealed, however, that it was mainly in the subcategory of "General positive descriptions" ("At home there is a good atmosphere") where the Scots had a much greater number of responses than the Chinese. The frequencies of responses which showed good relations with family members ("At home I like to be with the rest of the family") were actually the same for the two groups. In the case of "Negative Feelings", the frequencies of responses were lowest among the four categories for both groups, and the Chinese subjects who felt that it was "Dull and uninteresting at home" were just around 3% of the total sample of Chinese. Among the "Activities at home", TV-Watching came at the top of the list for the Scottish youngsters, and another sizeable portion of them had "Helped with House Work" at home. In both cases, their frequencies of responses exceeded those of the Chinese group. One more interesting fact was that in the category of Neutral Descriptions,

a good portion of the Chinese subjects mentioned the number of their siblings or their ordinal position at home. Among the Scottish pupils, only about 3% of them made such responses.

Item 26: "AT SCHOOL"

Table 5-17: Comparisons of Responses to Item "AT SCHOOL"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I Positive feelings	265	59.96	271	59.96	0.003 n.s.
II Negative feelings	104	23.53	58	12.83	4.05***
III Activities	56	12.67	28	6.19	3.23**
IV Referring to oneself	7	1.58	95	21.02	9.16***
IX Others	10	2.25	-		
Total	442		452		
$\chi^2 = 76.69$ $P < 0.001$					

Table 5-17a: Frequencies in some Subcategories of Responses to Item 26

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
21 General negative descriptions	39	8.82	4	0.88	5.60***
24 Poor relations with teachers	11	2.49	3	0.66	2.17*
31 Sports	20	4.52	6	1.33	2.81**
32 Academic activities	17	3.85	3	0.66	3.18**
41 One's own achievement	1	0.23	12	2.65	3.12**
42 One's status	-		22	4.87	4.64***
43 What one ought to do in school	2	0.45	33	7.30	5.25***

In both groups of subjects, there were about 60% who expressed positive feelings towards the school; some made general statements, others referred to some specific school subjects or interpersonal relationships ("In school I like my French teacher"). However, there were still nearly one quarter of the Scottish sample who showed negative attitudes towards school though most of the responses were just general descriptions. Only about half as many Chinese gave the same kind of

reaction. Similarly, the number of the Scots who mentioned some kind of activities ("At school I do my work") in connection with their school life was twice as large as that of the Chinese who made responses in the same category. In contrast, about one fifth of the Chinese group, against a very few Scottish pupils, tended to refer to themselves when they completed this sentence by making statements concerning "One's own achievements", the mediocrity of "one's own status" ("At school I am an ordinary student"), or "What one ought to do in school" (Subcategories 41 to 43).

Item 2: "THE HAPPIEST TIME"

Table 5-18: Comparisons of Responses to Item "THE HAPPIEST TIME"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I Holidays or Festivals	180	40.63	97	21.46	6.57***
II To be with people	98	22.12	53	11.73	4.25***
III Sports and activities	67	15.12	167	36.95	7.28***
IV Success and achievement	27	6.09	76	16.81	4.79***
V Acquisition	16	3.61	19	4.20	0.46 n.s.
VI Evasive response	6	1.35	17	3.76	2.29*
VII Referred to past experiences	37	8.35	15	3.31	3.25**
IX Others	12	2.71	8	1.77	0.94 n.s.
Total	443		452		
$\chi^2 = 131.64$		$P < 0.001$			

Table 5-18a: Frequencies in some Subcategories of Responses to Item 2

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
11 Holidays or festivals	94	21.22	31	6.86	6.18***
12 Special occasions to oneself	11	2.48	36	7.96	3.69***
16 When school ends	19	4.29	1	0.22	4.07***
35 Travel, picnics, etc.	4	0.90	32	7.08	4.74***
36 Laughing and singing	1	0.23	56	12.39	7.40***
43 To have good grades	6	1.35	55	12.17	6.25***
44 To have made some achievements	4	0.90	13	2.88	1.95 n.s.

There were considerable differences in the opinions of the two

groups concerning "THE HAPPIEST TIME". The Scottish youngsters tended to think that Holidays and Festivals were the happiest time (40.63%) and "To be with People" was the next most frequently mentioned response. Significantly less Chinese pupils made responses in these two categories. Instead, over one third of them referred to some kind of activities or sports when they thought about the Happiest Time. Likewise, "Success and Achievement" were more frequently regarded as the Happiest Experience by the Chinese subjects than by the Scottish pupils. Further exploration shows that most of the responses of the Chinese subjects were in the subcategory "To have got high grades in school". Such an attitude was shared by only a very small number of the Scottish adolescents. A small number of the Chinese (3.76%) and still fewer Scots made Evasive Responses by saying that "The Happiest Time is now" or "The Happiest Time is when you have nothing to worry about". On the other hand, the Scottish youths referred more often to their Past Experiences in connection with the Happiest Time ("The happiest time I had was when I was in Edinburgh").

Item 20: "THE FUTURE"

It seems a good thing to find that over one third of our young people in each group showed positive feelings towards the FUTURE. Although the Chinese subjects in this category were outnumbered by the Scottish subjects, the difference did not reach the level of significance. Equally noticeable is the fact that the number of those who expressed negative feelings about the FUTURE was also fairly high, with significantly more Chinese (36.61%) than Scots (30.16%) whose responses fell into this category. Moreover, the two groups seemed to have focussed their attention on different aspects of the FUTURE: the Chinese felt more frequently that "the FUTURE is far away" or "not sure how to deal with it" while the Scots tended to give more critical responses such as "the FUTURE is dark or insecure". There were slightly but significantly more Chinese pupils than Scottish youngsters who talked about their plans in the FUTURE. Further investigation would reveal, however, that the majority of responses made by the Chinese subjects fell into subcategory 48: "To make good use of it" whereas the responses made by the Scottish subjects tended to be more specific such as "to get married" or "to join a certain occupation". A few subjects in each group made Evasive responses, e.g. "The future can be left to the future", but there was no group difference in this respect.

Table 5-19: Comparisons of Responses to Item "THE FUTURE"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I Positive feelings	192	43.54	167	37.28	1.88 n.s.
II Negative feelings	133	30.16	164	36.61	2.04*
III Neutral responses	52	11.74	29	6.47	2.67**
IV Plans and hopes	50	11.34	77	17.19	2.39*
V Evasive responses	14	3.18	11	2.46	0.66 n.s.
Total	441		448		
$\chi^2 = 29.10$			P < 0.001		

Table 5-19a: Frequencies in some Subcategories of Responses to Item 20

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
22 Future is dark, insecure	59	13.38	35	3.94	4.11***
23 Future is far away	9	2.04	56	6.30	6.18***
29 Not sure how to deal with it	3	0.68	23	2.59	4.55***
32 Future is in front of you	17	3.85	-	-	3.85***
44 To get married	14	3.17	-	-	3.17**
46 To join a certain occupation	21	4.76	5	0.56	3.64***
48 To make good use of the future	-	-	43	4.84	6.81***

Item 1: "I LIKE"

There seems to be a great deal of difference between the "LIKES" of the adolescents from the two countries. Among the seven categories of responses, significant differences appeared in five of them. The number of the Scottish pupils who liked "People & Interpersonal relationships" was double that of the Chinese subjects who showed the same interest. It should be noted, however, that the difference was due mainly to the fact that many Scottish youths expressed their interest in "People of the opposite sex" while only one Chinese subject did so. On the other hand, the Chinese who LIKED their "Family members" were twice as many

as the Scots in the same category.

There were a great number of the responses of both groups related to some kind of ACTIVITIES: here the Chinese youngsters showed greater interest in both "Sports & Games" and "Solitary Activities (reading, watching TV, ...)" than the Scottish subjects.

Table 5-20: Comparisons of the Responses to Item "I LIKE"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I People & Interpersonal Relationships	91	20.31	45	10.00	4.20***
II Family members & family life	28	6.25	54	12.00	2.87**
III School life & school subjects	15	3.35	32	7.11	2.67**
IV Activities	146	32.59	200	44.44	3.57***
V Self improvement	8	1.78	7	1.55	0.23 n.s.
VI Material objects & satisfactions	92	20.54	80	17.78	1.04 n.s.
VII Abstract & emotional satisfactions	49	10.94	21	4.67	3.62***
IX Others	19	4.24	11	2.24	1.80 n.s.
Total	448		450		
$\chi^2 = 52.60$ P < 0.001					

Table 5-20a: Frequencies in some Subcategories of Responses to Item I

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
12 People of opposite sex	39	8.71	1	0.22	6.14***
41 Sports & games	88	19.64	103	22.89	1.18 n.s.
43 Solitary Activities	17	3.79	39	8.67	3.03**
61 To get a job	12	2.68	-	-	3.46***
64 Some kind of food	34	7.59	12	2.67	3.32***
67 Animals, pets	20	4.46	39	8.67	2.56*
68 To visit a certain place	1	0.22	12	2.67	3.16**
71 Happiness, happy life	16	3.57	4	0.89	2.68**
75 Holidays	8	1.79	2	0.44	1.92
76 Freedom, Power	8	1.79	1	0.22	2.36*

While there was no group difference in the total number of responses related to "Material Objects", a detailed analysis in the subcategories showed some interesting group tendencies; "jobs" and "food" were mentioned more frequently by the Scots whereas "animals" and "visits to other places" were better liked by the Chinese. Among the "Abstract and emotional satisfactions" "Happiness" and "Freedom in doing things" (subcategories 71-76) were the subcategories in which the Scottish pupils made more responses than the Chinese. In contrast, significantly more Chinese subjects (7.11%) said that they liked "School Life" while only about one half as many Scottish youngsters (3.35%) had the same attitude. "Self improvement" was "liked" by still fewer subjects and there was no group difference.

Item 21: "I NEED"

A quick glance at the figures in Table 5-21 would show that a large proportion of the responses made by our subjects were related to either "Material objects" or "Abstract or Emotional Satisfactions". Over 40% of the Scottish pupils and about one quarter of the Chinese youths had NEEDS belonging to the former category. Further analysis reveals that "Money & Wealth" and "Hygienic Needs" were the objects of which the Scots showed significantly greater needs (Subcategories 63-66). The proportion of the responses of the two groups reversed in the category of Abstract Objects where the Chinese indicated their greater needs, particularly the need for "Help & Guidance", mostly from adults. In regard to the need for "Self Improvement", both groups showed the same amount of need for more "Knowledge & Ability", but the Scottish subjects had greater needs for "Improvement in Personality", and "Working harder" than the Chinese youths. There was no group difference in the need for Interpersonal Relationships; but the Scottish pupils frankly expressed again the need for the "Opposite Sex" whereas the need for "Good Relationships with Parents" was more frequently mentioned by the Chinese adolescents. Need for "School Life and Activities" were only brought up by a small number of subjects and there was no significant difference between the two groups in either category.

Table 5-21: Comparisons of the Responses to Item "I NEED"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I People & Interpersonal Relationships	43	9.61	44	9.82	0.01 n.s.
II Family members & family life	28	6.41	70	15.63	4.63***
III School life & school subjects	22	5.03	32	7.14	1.75 n.s.
IV Activities	15	3.43	12	2.68	0.65 n.s.
V Self improvement	60	13.73	34	7.59	3.54***
VI Material objects or satisfactions	183	41.88	113	25.22	5.24***
VII Abstract objects or emotional satisfactions	66	15.10	123	27.46	4.25***
IX Others	20	4.58	20	4.66	- n.s.
Total	437		448		
$\chi^2 = 63.04$ $P < 0.001$					

Table 5-21a: Frequencies in some Subcategories of Responses to Item 21

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
12 People of opposite sex	17	3.89	2	0.45	3.62***
14 Friends, or friendly people	16	3.66	31	5.92	2.15*
21 Parents, good relations with parents	2	0.46	41	9.15	6.00***
51 Improvement of one's personality	13	2.97	1	0.22	3.28**
52 Improvement of one's knowledge, ability	19	9.35	24	5.36	0.70 n.s.
56 To work harder	13	2.97	2	0.45	2.70**
61 Money & Wealth	57	13.04	14	3.13	5.46***
64 Food	13	2.97	5	1.12	1.84 n.s.
65 Other material objects	63	14.42	74	16.52	0.86 n.s.
66 Hygienic needs, sleep, bath, etc.	31	7.09	3	0.67	4.92***
72 Affection, friendship	25	5.72	37	8.26	0.81 n.s.
73 Help, Guidance	17	3.89	72	16.07	6.01***

Item 29: "I WISH"

Table 5-22: Comparisons of the Responses to Item "I WISH"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I People, & Interpersonal relationships	14	3.15	23	5.18	1.50 n.s.
II Family members, & family life	23	5.18	19	4.28	0.65 n.s.
III School life & school subjects	37	8.33	96	21.62	5.41***
IV Activities	26	5.86	3	0.68	4.35***
V Self improvement & development	111	25.00	176	39.64	4.58***
VI Material objects or satisfactions	122	27.48	54	12.15	5.82***
VII Abstract or emotional satisfactions	40	9.01	24	5.41	2.10*
VIII A better world, future	43	9.69	38	8.56	0.58 n.s.
IX Others	28	6.31	13	2.93	2.39*
Total	444		446		
$\chi^2 = 93.62$		P	<	0.001	

Table 5-22a: Frequencies in some Subcategories of Responses to Item 29

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
33 Passing Examinations	1	0.23	29	6.50	5.12***
34 No homework, more holidays	31	6.98	1	0.22	5.34***
36 To be admitted to a senior high school	-	-	27	6.05	5.31***
45 To participate in grown ups' activities	21	4.73	-	-	4.73***
53 Better skill in sports or athletics	20	4.50	-	-	4.50***
54 Better physical characteristics	19	4.28	8	1.79	2.18*
55 To be grown up	26	5.86	11	2.47	2.52*
57 To become a professional worker	8	0.23	64	14.35	6.91***
58 To have superior talent, ability	2	0.45	39	8.74	5.86***
59 To become a 'useful person'	1	0.23	36	8.07	5.84***
61 To get a job	8	1.80	33	7.40	3.96***
62 Money & Wealth	35	7.88	2	0.45	5.46***
63 Other specific objects	24	5.41	13	2.91	1.85 n.s.
67 To have pets, animals	17	3.83	1	0.22	3.80***
68 To visit a certain place	30	6.76	5	1.12	4.32***
93 Unrealistic wishes	16	3.60	6	1.35	2.15*

In expressing their wishes, about half of the responses made by the subjects in each group were in the categories of "Self Improvement" and "Material objects or satisfaction". In the former, the Chinese subjects seem to have dominated the overall picture. But when one looks into the distribution of frequencies in the subcategories, the Chinese outnumber the Scots in only three of them: expressing greater wishes "to become a professional worker", "to have superior talent or ability", and "to become a useful person (to the community)". The Scottish youngsters, on the other hand, had a greater urge to have "Better skills in sports", "better physical characteristics" and to "grow up". An even greater number of the Scottish responses were related to "Material objects". There they showed stronger interest in "Money and Wealth", "Visiting a certain place", "Having animal pets" and "Other specific objects". Consequently, the wish "to get a job" became less important to them. Aside from these, the two groups showed a significant difference in their responses concerning wishes related to "School life and school subjects". About one fifth of the responses made by the Chinese pupils were in this category and they wished very much to "Pass the examinations" and "to be admitted to a senior high school" which the Scottish adolescents did not seem to have been concerned with. What the latter group really wished was "No Home Work, and more Holidays". Lastly, "A better world or a bright future" was the wish of about 9% of the entire sample of young people and there was no significant difference between the two groups in this respect.

Item 36: "THE KIND OF PERSON I WOULD LIKE TO BE"

When the young people were asked about their wishes concerning themselves in the future, most of the responses went into the category of "Self Improvement" while the category "Success and Achievement" had the next highest frequency of responses. About half of the Scottish subjects expressed their wish to become a better self and nearly 40% of the Chinese subjects made the same reaction. But each group of youngsters seemed to have their specific ways of expressing their wishes: the young Scots tended to mention the need "to have fine personal qualities", ("The kind of person I would like to be is kind", "to help others") or "to have good physical health", both of which were seldom brought up by the Chinese pupils. The latter group, on the other hand, seemed to want very much "to become a useful person" or, more specifically, to be "a good student or citizen". In regard to "Success and Achievement", about 10% of the Chinese subjects wished to have "Academic achievement" while another 10% of them wanted "to become great and remarkable". In

contrast, the Scottish youths showed greater interest in becoming glamorous figures such as "an Actor or a Footballer". Many other occupations were also named by our subjects: the four groups that were more frequently mentioned by the Chinese adolescents were: highly professional workers (e.g. doctors, engineers, etc.), teachers, artistic workers (musicians, writers...) and pilots or stewardesses. While these were also liked by the Scottish subjects, the latter outnumbered the Chinese in two other subcategories: service workers (e.g. nurses, secretaries, etc.) and skilled and semi-skilled workers (e.g. drivers, mechanics, farmers).

Table 5-23: Comparisons of the Responses to Item 36

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I Self improvement, development	228	51.81	172	38.39	14.01***
II Success and achievement	102	23.18	157	35.04	3.89***
III Certain kind of occupation	58	13.18	94	20.98	3.08**
IV Happiness and satisfaction	15	3.41	10	2.23	1.08 n.s.
V Evasive responses	37	8.41	15	3.35	
IX Others	-		-		
Total	440		448		
$\chi^2 = 38.32$		P < 0.001			

Table 5-23a: Frequencies in some Subcategories of Responses to Item 36

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
II With fine personal qualities	156	35.45	12	2.68	12.85***
13 With good physical characteristics	38	8.64	5	1.12	5.06***
16 To become "a useful person"	7	1.59	112	25.00	10.27***
17 To become a good student, citizen	-	-	25	5.58	5.09***
23 To become a glamorous figure - actor, footballer	49	11.14	11	2.46	5.19***
24 To become a scholar	8	1.82	47	10.49	5.38***
26 To be great, remarkable	-	-	48	10.71	7.06***
51 To be "just like me"	11	2.50	-	-	3.22**
53 To be "someone not yet in the world"	11	2.50	5	1.12	1.54*

Item 12: "MY GREATEST FEAR"

Table 5-24: Comparisons of the Responses to Item "MY GREATEST FEAR"

Categories		Scots		Chinese		z
		f	%	f	%	
I	People or Interpersonal relationships	30	6.80	48	10.64	1.92 n.s.
II	Personal weakness	33	7.48	63	13.97	3.25**
III	Accident, Injury, Illness or Death	154	39.42	20	9.44	11.55***
IV	Dangerous or Unpleasant Situations	99	22.45	92	20.40	0.73 n.s.
V	School Work	23	5.22	101	22.39	7.70***
VI	Material Objects	6	1.36	11	2.44	0.92 n.s.
VII	Animals or Spirits	43	9.75	68	15.08	2.41*
VIII	The Future and the World	37	8.39	42	9.31	0.49 n.s.
IX	Others	16	3.63	6	1.33	
Total		441		451		
$\chi^2 = 131.85$				P < 0.001		

Table 5-24a: Frequencies in some Subcategories of Responses to Item 12

Subcategories		Scots		Chinese		z
		f	%	f	%	
11	Fear of family members	5	1.13	20	4.43	2.99**
25	Failure in work	15	3.40	40	8.87	3.40***
31	Injury or illness of self	29	6.58	7	1.55	3.80***
34	Death of self	39	8.84	-	-	6.45***
35	Death of family members	12	2.72	4	0.89	2.06*
37	Death	48	10.88	1	0.22	6.98***
41	Dangerous place (e.g. height)	19	4.31	1	0.22	4.08***
43	Unpleasant event or experience	16	3.63	30	6.65	2.04*
47	Dangerous objects, situations	52	11.79	42	9.31	1.21 n.s.
48	To be alone	7	1.59	12	2.66	1.11 n.s.
51	School life, general	2	0.45	19	4.21	3.70***
54	Examinations, entrance exams to high school	5	1.13	61	13.53	7.07***
74	Ghosts, evil spirits	10	2.27	47	10.42	4.65***

The figures in Table 5-24 indicate that the most frequently mentioned FEAR of the Scottish subjects was in the category of "Accident, Injury & Illness" and over 40% (68 out of a total of 154 responses in Category III) of such responses showed the concern of the young Scots with their own security. Very few of the Chinese subjects had fear in this aspect; instead, they were more concerned with their "School Work". The Chinese showed greater anxiety than the Scottish pupils in School Work in general and still greater fear over the "Examinations" in particular (Subcategories 51-54). In connection with this, a considerable portion of the Chinese exhibited FEAR of "Personal Weakness", feeling that they did not have sufficient knowledge or ability to cope with their work (Subcategory 25). In the category of "Animals & Spirits", "Ghosts" (Subcategory 74) seemed to be a much more common fear of the Chinese youths than of the Scots.

There were about the same number of responses from the two groups related to "Dangerous or Unpleasant Situations". But "Dangerous Places" (chiefly high places) (Subcategory 41) was more frequently mentioned by the Scottish youngsters while "To be alone" (Subcategory 48) was more fearful to the Chinese. Darkness seemed to be a common fear to both groups of young people, but FIRE was more frequently named by the Scots. Among the "Unpleasant Events or Experiences" (Subcategory 43), "Nightmare" was exclusively but frequently mentioned by the Chinese subjects, and "the loss of a football game" was a matter which concerned only the Scottish youths.

Item 34: "MY GREATEST WORRY"

Table 5-25: Comparisons of the Responses to Item "MY GREATEST WORRY"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I People or Interpersonal Relationships	47	10.96	33	7.45	1.76 n.s.
II Personal Weakness	105	24.24	138	31.01	2.49*
III Accident, Illness, Injury or Death	81	18.88	27	6.09	5.70***
IV Dangerous or Unpleasant Situations	34	7.69	19	4.29	2.11*
V School Work	93	21.45	155	31.38	3.34***
VI Material Objects	12	2.78	11	2.48	0.13 n.s.
VII Animals or Spirits	3	0.69	2	0.45	0.45 n.s.
VIII The Future and the World	40	9.32	53	11.96	1.26 n.s.
IX Others	18	4.17	7		
Total	433		445		
$\chi^2 = 56.95$		P < 0.001			

Table 5-25a: Frequencies in Some Subcategories of Responses to Item 34

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
21 Weakness in Personality	5	1.15	17	3.82	1.67 n.s.
22 Weakness in Knowledge, Ability or Skill	2	0.46	11	2.47	2.01*
23 Weakness in Physical Characteristics	7	1.62	20	4.49	2.87**
24 Inability to get a job	17	3.93	6	1.35	2.58**
25 Failure in Work or School Work	55	12.70	68	15.28	1.15 n.s.
31 Injury, Illness of Self	22	5.08	9	2.02	2.17*
32 Death of Self	17	3.93	2	0.45	3.48***
35 Death of Family Members	12	2.77	1	0.22	2.55*
37 Death	15	3.46	1	0.22	3.24**
51 School Life, general	17	3.93	33	7.42	2.48*
52 Specific Subjects	7	1.62	13	2.93	1.31 n.s.
54 Examinations, Entrance exams. to High School	45	10.39	90	20.22	4.01***
81 Personal Future	21	4.85	28	6.29	1.02 n.s.
83 War	10	2.31	2	0.45	1.86 n.s.
89 National Affairs	-	-	10	2.25	2.25*

Generally the responses made by the two groups to the item "MY GREATEST WORRY" were quite similar to those they made to the item about FEAR. But here "Personal Weakness" seemed to have come nearly to the top of the list. Many young pupils in both countries tended to feel that they might fail in their work (Subcategory 25), particularly the Examinations at school. Some of them felt that they had Weakness in Personality, in Knowledge & Ability, and in Physical Characteristics (Subcategories 21-23), and such feelings were stronger among the Chinese in each of these aspects. School Work was another major cause of worry to young pupils especially to the Chinese adolescents. To them, Examinations (including the Entrance Examination of senior high schools) was their most frequently mentioned problem. The Scottish youths, on the other hand, worried more often about "Accident, Injury & Illness" of either themselves or their family members. They also gave more responses than the Chinese related to "Dangerous & Unpleasant Situations". Nearly 10% of the entire sample expressed concern about the Future; and there was no group difference either in the overall frequencies of the responses in this category or between those related to "Personal Future" (Subcategory 81). A small number of the Scots worried about "WAR" while an equal number of the Chinese showed concern over their "National Affairs", (e.g. "The withdrawal of our country from the United Nations").

Item 28: "MY ONLY TROUBLE"

Table 5-26: Comparisons of the Responses to Item "MY ONLY TROUBLE"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		
	f	%	f	%	
I People or Interpersonal Relationships	78	18.01	18	4.10	6.96***
II Personal Weakness	130	30.02	187	42.60	3.80***
III Accident, Injury, Illness or Death	18	4.16	8	1.82	2.05*
IV Dangerous or Unpleasant Situations	34	7.85	16	3.65	2.66**
V School Work	92	21.25	129	29.39	2.76**
VI Material Objects	35	8.08	32	7.29	0.44 n.s.
VII Animals or Spirits	-	-	-	-	-
VIII The Future and the World	14	3.23	16	3.65	0.34 n.s.
IX Others	22	5.08	33	7.52	1.45
Total	423		439		
$\chi^2 = 76.68$		P < 0.001			

Table 5-26a: Frequencies in some Subcategories of Responses to Item 28

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
11 With Family Members	21	4.96	6	1.42	3.03**
12 With Teachers, Authorities	13	3.07	3	0.71	2.67**
21 Weakness in Personality	41	9.69	17	4.02	3.75***
22 Weakness in Knowledge, Ability or Skill	22	5.20	95	22.46	7.01***
23 Weakness in Physical Characteristics	28	6.62	12	2.84	2.68***
25 Failure in Work	7	1.65	28	6.62	4.15***
51 School life, general	22	5.20	36	8.51	1.76 n.s.
52 Specific Subjects	19	4.49	41	9.69	2.80**
54 Examinations, Entrance Exams of High School	3	0.71	44	10.40	3.13**
55 Forced Activities	22	5.20	1	0.24	4.54***

The matter that one worries about is generally what has caused one trouble. A comparison of the figures in Tables 5-23 and 5-24 will surely confirm this point. Thus, for our young people, their TROUBLES lay mainly in their "Personal Weakness" and "School Work". While there were significantly more Chinese subjects than Scottish ones who considered "Personal Weakness" their TROUBLE, the former made more responses only in subcategories "Weakness in Knowledge, Ability & Skill", and "Failure in School Work" (subcategories 22 & 25). In the subcategories of "Weakness in Personality" (such as "bad temper", "selfish" etc.) and "Weakness in Physical Characteristics" (subcategories 21 & 23), it was the subjects in the Scottish group who gained the dominance. "School Work" was again much more frequently regarded by the Chinese pupils as their major TROUBLE: some mentioned School Work in General, others pointed out some Specific Subjects, and a third group named the "Examinations". These feelings were all shared by a smaller number of the Scottish pupils who, at the same time, pointed out that, to them, "Forced Activities" (subcategory 55) ("The only trouble at school is some things are compulsory") were important TROUBLES. In regard to "People & Interpersonal Relationships", significantly more Scottish adolescents than Chinese youngsters

admitted that they had TROUBLE with their parents, teachers and people of the opposite sex (subcategories I, 12 & 14).

Item 38: "I REGRET"

Table 5-27: Comparisons of the Responses to Item "I REGRET"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I People or Interpersonal Relationships	32	7.64	65	15.05	3.54***
II Personal Weakness	187	44.63	163	37.73	2.08*
III Accident, Injury, Illness or Death	17	4.06	33	7.64	2.07*
IV Dangerous or Unpleasant Situations	44	10.50	68	15.74	2.34*
V School Work	63	15.04	51	11.80	1.57 n.s.
VI Material Objects	9	2.15	13	3.01	0.44 n.s.
VII The Future and the World	7	1.67	32	7.41	3.96***
IX Others	<u>60</u>	14.32	<u>17</u>	3.93	***
Total	419		442		
$\chi^2 = 94.96$ P < 0.001					

Table 5-27a: Frequencies in some Subcategories of Responses to Item 38

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
11 Relations with family members	18	4.30	29	6.71	1.53 n.s.
13 Relations with friends	-	-	13	3.01	3.59***
21 Weakness in Personality	21	5.01	5	1.16	3.25**
22 Weakness in Knowledge, Ability or Skill	28	6.68	78	18.06	5.04***
23 Personal Misconduct	74	17.66	20	4.63	6.07***
89 National Affairs	-	-	30	6.94	5.49***
92 NO REGRET	21	5.01	4	0.93	3.59***
94 This Test	9	2.15	-	-	3.04**
95 Today	10	2.39	-	-	3.38***

It is found here that what our young people regretted most was related to their own "Personal Weakness" and about 40% of the entire sample showed such responses. The Chinese subjects tended to have

REGRETS concerning their "Weakness in Knowledge, Ability & Skill" whereas the Scottish youths had more frequent REGRETS about "Weakness in Personality" and their "Misconducts" (subcategories 21-26). There were significantly more Chinese subjects than Scottish subjects who were not satisfied with the behaviour of other PEOPLE ("I regret that my brother likes to fight with others"); and that was true in the case of both Family Members and of Friends (subcategories 11 & 13). Although more Scottish pupils indicated their dissatisfaction with "School Work", statistically the difference between the two groups was not significant. Neither was there any group difference in responses concerning "Material Objects". The Chinese made significantly more responses related to "The Future & the World", and in nearly all these responses they expressed their concern with their "National Affairs".

Item 8: "WHAT ANNOYS ME"

Table 5-28: Comparisons of the Responses to Item "WHAT ANNOYS ME"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I People	308	69.68	281	63.49	1.91 n.s.
II Personal Weakness	12	2.71	40	9.03	3.99***
III Personal Relations with Others	13	2.94	37	8.35	3.48***
IV Dangerous or Unpleasant Situations	40	9.05	29	6.54	1.39 n.s.
V School Life	35	7.95	14	3.16	3.14**
VI Material Objects	8	1.81	8	1.80	- n.s.
VII Animals and Spirits	7	1.58	20	4.51	2.53*
VIII The Future & the World	17	3.84	10	2.25	1.39 n.s.
IX Others	2	0.45	4	0.90	0.82 n.s.
Total	442		443		

$$\chi^2 = 47.22$$

$$P < 0.001$$

Table 5-28a: Frequencies in some Subcategories of Response to Item 8

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
10 General	3	0.68	--	--	1.75 n.s.
11 Parents	8	1.81	11	2.48	0.69 n.s.
12 Siblings	23	5.20	60	13.54	4.25***
13 Teachers	30	6.79	9	2.03	3.46***
14 Schoolmates or Friends	1	0.23	6	1.35	2.23*
15 People of the Opposite Sex	18	4.07	3	0.68	3.32***
16 People with Poor Moral Standards	46	10.41	70	15.80	2.23**
17 People with Unpleasant Qualities	141	31.90	79	17.83	4.84***
18 People Causing Disturbance in Society	17	3.85	25	5.64	1.25 n.s.
19 Others	21	4.75	18	4.06	0.50 n.s.
33 Being misunderstood	3	0.68	9	2.03	1.74 n.s.
36 Being ignored, disrespected	4	0.90	16	3.61	2.70**
38 Being treated in an unfriendly way	4	0.90	9	2.03	1.40 n.s.
55 Forced Activities	16	3.62	2	0.45	3.34***
25 Failure in One's Own Work	3	0.68	34	7.67	5.19***

It is clearly shown in Table 5-28 that what annoyed the adolescents in the two countries most was mainly PEOPLE and about two thirds of the responses could be classified in this category. A close look at the frequencies in the subcategories would indicate that it was PEOPLE WITH UNPLEASANT QUALITIES who caused the greatest amount of annoyance. Those named frequently by the Scots were people who liked to show off and ones who bullied others. The Chinese young people did not like "the Bullies" either and the second group they mentioned frequently were those who called people names.

The subcategory which had the second highest frequency was PEOPLE WITH POOR MORAL STANDARDS. People who "talked behind one's back" were very much annoying to subjects in both two cultures. Moreover, the Chinese youngsters were more sensitive to people who "took things away

from you without permission" and those who "did not keep their word". To the Scottish pupils, the "two faced" and "dishonest" people were more annoying.

Aside from these, SIBLINGS seemed to have caused a good deal of annoyance to the Chinese adolescents, whereas TEACHERS were often regarded as annoying by the Scottish pupils. In regard to the Inter-personal Relationships, the Chinese subjects tended to be more frequently annoyed than their Scottish friends by "being misunderstood", "being unrespected", or "being treated in an unfriendly way". In addition, SCHOOL LIFE, particularly "Forced Activities", were seen as annoying matters more frequently by the Scots than the Chinese who, on the other hand, were more easily annoyed by their "Personal Weakness".

Item 42: "THIS TEST"

Table 5-29: Comparisons of the Responses to Item "THIS TEST"

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
I With Positive Feelings	333	74.33	336	75.17	0.12 n.s.
II With Negative Feelings	93	20.76	88	19.69	0.41 n.s.
III With Neutral Descriptions	18	4.02	23	5.15	0.82 n.s.
IX Others	4		-		
Total	448		447		
$\chi^2 = 4.76$	P < 0.20 > 0.10 n.s.				

Table 5-29a: Frequencies in some Subcategories of Responses to Item 42

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
11 It is interesting, It's Fun	110	24.55	170	38.03	4.35***
13 It Helps Self understanding	11	2.46	54	12.08	5.56***
14 It's Easy, Not Difficult	85	18.97	12	2.68	7.86***
21 Difficult	30	6.70	23	5.15	0.98 n.s.
23 It's Nonsense	51	11.38	58	12.98	0.73 n.s.

It is interesting to see that the pupils of the two countries

showed very similar attitudes towards "THIS TEST". About three quarters of the subjects in each group had positive feelings although there were some differences in their ways of expression. The Scottish adolescents tended to say that "It was easy" or "Not difficult" while their Chinese friends used more frequently the expression "It is interesting" or, more sophisticatedly, "It helps self-understanding". Among those who showed negative feelings towards "THIS TEST", some found it difficult to complete the sentences whereas others had a stronger critical attitude and regarded it as "Nonsense". Even in these subcategories, there was no group difference. Only 5% of the subjects in each group made neutral responses.

5.3 Results from the TAT Stories

A. The Scoring of the TAT Stories

Although the TAT has been very widely used by both clinical psychologists and research scholars, it does not have a generally accepted scoring procedure. When Murray (1938) developed the TAT, he also recommended a method for analysing the stories based on his concept of personality. To score a story, a Hero is first to be identified; then the needs that motivate his behaviour, and the pressures that are impinging on him. The interaction of a hero's need and an environmental press together with the outcome constitute a theme, a term designating the dynamic structure of an episode. It is assumed that the subject who tells the story often "identifies" with the Hero, that the needs expressed by the Hero reflect the subject's own needs, and that the pressures directed towards the Hero represent the subject's conception of his psychological environment.

Unfortunately, Murray's method of analysis has not been widely adopted. Many psychologists are reluctant to accept either the theoretical formulation of personality proposed by Murray or the assumption of the subject's identification with the Hero in the story (Murstain, 1963; Zubin, et al. 1965). Another important factor is that Murray's method is rather time consuming. A researcher often wishes to carry out some studies to test his own theory or hypothesis, and not infrequently he would make modifications in an existing method to reach his goal. The TAT has been used for a great variety of purposes; it is not at all surprising that numerous different methods have been

developed in scoring the protocols. Zubin et al. (1965) once pointed out that "there are almost as many scoring systems as there are studies (in the TAT), a fact which creates a burdensome task for the researcher who questions the validity and reliability of TAT scores" (p. 453). They reviewed some of the methods developed since 1950 (p. 453-458). Murstein (1963) also devoted one whole chapter in his book entitled Theory and Research in Projective Techniques (emphasising the TAT) to introduce some of the important systems of scoring the TAT stories. Those methods that were developed in the earlier stage were summarised in a paper by Wyatt (1947).

Most investigators who worked on the TAT were interested in the content of the stories produced for the pictures. Pine (1955) developed a scoring system based mainly on feelings, outcomes and interpersonal relationships in the stories. He emphasised that "the actions scored must be those specifically described in the stories, not inferred" (p. 315). Davids and Rosenblatt (1958) proposed a special scoring system to measure the syndrome of "alienation" and reported its validity and reliability. Pine (1960) thought that the task of an adequate scoring system is to describe the individual in terms of the processes of impulse expression and ego control, and the coordination of the two. He has prepared a manual for rating drive content based on psychoanalytic theories. The scoring system developed by Dana (1959a) considers mainly three factors: perceptual organisation (the subject's ability to follow the instructions to tell a story, and his manner of doing so), perceptual range (the ability to perceive some specific stimulus properties of a card in comparison with that of normal group, and perceptual personalisation (questions or comments that do not directly belong to the story but are related to the test situation or to the testee himself). This method, as indicated in a later study (Dana, 1959b), seemed to differentiate the psychiatric groups very well.

Perhaps the system that has made the greatest influence to the studies in the last decade is the method developed by McClelland and his associates (Atkinson, 1958) for scoring the needs for achievement, affiliation and power. The availability of detailed manuals and practice problems together with the fact that achievement has been greatly emphasised in today's world have made this system a very

popular one.

Two 5-point scales for the evaluation of Emotional Tone and Outcome of the TAT stories have been suggested by Eron (1950). He also found that when the stories were classified according to formal characteristics, such as card rejection, sex misidentification, story continuation from one picture to the next, etc., the difference between the schizophrenics and the normal group were more distinctive.

Eron is certainly not the only scholar who is interested in the formal or stylistic aspects of the TAT protocols. Kagan (1961), for example, presented findings concerning the tendency to use affective words in describing or conceptualising social stimuli. His assumption was that the use of affective labels reflected the tendency to view the environment from the viewpoint of human motives. Shneidman (1961) was interested in the thought processes people used in making up a story. He demonstrated that thought process and general personality characteristics were inter-correlated and that "ways of thinking are a reflection of general ways of psychological being". Zubin et al. (1965) in fact seemed to be very optimistic about the formal analysis of the TAT stories, and felt that it would hold up better than the so called content aspects. However, they saw the difficulty in rating the TAT variables by either formal or content analysis and suggested that a frequency count of occurrence of various features of the stories would be an acceptable alternative. They reproduced Eron's check list as an example (p. 587-597).

Eron's check list contains two parts: Equilibrium and Disequilibrium, referring to the states of adjustment of the character in the story. Each part is broken down into three categories: Interpersonal, Intrapersonal and Impersonal, depending on the relationships involved in the behaviour. The interpersonal category is further divided into various relationships (parent, partner, sibling, etc.) with specific themes listed under each subheading. The presence of each theme in a story is recorded during the process of analysis (Eron, 1950).

More recently DeVos (1970) has developed a very comprehensive system which is called Vectorial Concerns of Interpersonal Relations. According to this method, the behaviour of a figure in the story is

first classified as either Instrumental or Expressive. The former is further divided into five principal concerns: Achievement, Adequacy, Responsibility, Control, and Mutuality; and the latter into four concerns: Harmony-Hostility, Affiliation-Isolation, Nurturance-Deprivation, and Pleasure-Pain. In each of these cases, the activities are to be categorised as Positive-Active, Inactive, or Negative-Active, depending upon the impact on the characters in the story. It is understood that DeVos is expanding his system and trying to set it for computerisation; but the material has not yet been published.

It was very difficult to decide how the TAT stories in the present study should be analysed. Some major points were laid down as guidelines after a careful research of the problem.

- (a) Only the manifest content of the stories, not unconscious material, are to be studied.
- (b) As the main objective here is to study the social attitudes of the two groups of adolescents, the important task is to have a thorough analysis of the attitudes towards others, towards social institutions, and towards the social behaviour of individuals as revealed in the stories.
- (c) The stories produced by the two cultural groups are to be similarly treated; scoring methods that are standardised for any specific culture are not to be considered. For the same reason, many of the scaling systems are to be discarded.
- (d) It is more important to avoid any misinterpretation or distortion when the stories are being analysed than to follow a particular system of scoring.

With these principles in mind, the author has become more sympathetic to the researchers in the past who chose to develop their own method of scoring or analysis. Needless to say, many techniques suggested by previous studies are very impressive; but none seemed to suit the exact purpose of the present study.

DeVos' system seemed to meet the requirements very well because of its emphasis on interpersonal relationships. However, there were two problems:

- (a) Each story can have one or more themes and the number of them is

indefinite; this will cause some inconvenience in group comparisons. (b) Every theme is scored and treated independently with no consideration of its connection with other themes in the same story. One can easily see that two themes of "Discord between two characters" would have different meanings if one is followed by a theme of "harmony" and the other is not. It would be improper to have them tallied in the same way.

Following the above mentioned guidelines and, at the same time, avoiding the two shortcomings of DeVos's system, the present author decided to handle the TAT stories by a method of simple categorisation. In doing so, each story is classified in a category or subcategory according to the nature of its "central theme" which is the dynamic organisation of its separate themes together with its outcome. Only one central theme is to be drawn from each story to cover the main events therein described. For instance: all stories of theft for Card 14 are grouped into one main category where a story of continuous stealing and a story of stealing followed by reform will be classified into two different subcategories.

The scheme of categorisation has been kept very flexible and, in fact, there is not a predetermined system or set of categories to which stories are forcibly labelled. On the contrary, a category is put in the list only when stories of that specific nature are available. This explains why the stories of the four pictures are not classified by one uniform scheme of categorisation, but four different ones. Each of these will be briefly explained when the stories for each card are presented.

To compare the stories produced by the adolescents from the two countries, the frequencies of the main categories will be examined and will be calculated to determine if there is a significant overall difference. When a group difference is indicated, more detailed comparisons will be made to locate the area in which the two groups differed from one another. The procedure is similar to that applied to the analysis of the ISB records. 160 protocols randomly selected from the TAT records of each cultural group are used for the comparative study. Stories produced by boys and girls are equally represented.

B. Stories for TAT Card 6BM

Among the four TAT Cards used in this study, 6BM was the first one in the sequence of administration. It was so arranged because this card had an ordinary family scene which was comparatively more familiar to the subjects in the two groups than the other three pictures.

Although the relations between the two characters in this picture were interpreted by the adolescents in several different ways, figures in Table 5-31 indicate that more than two thirds of the pupils in the two groups saw them as "Mother and Son". The Chinese subjects had an even greater tendency to get such an impression, but the group difference here was not statistically significant. Since the mother-child relationship is the most basic human relation and, at the same time, the most frequently seen content in this card, the analysis will be mainly focussed on those responses in this category.

The stories could first be classified according to the interpersonal feelings between the two characters in the picture. Positive feelings were evident in some stories in which the mother was described as kind or nurturant whereas the son was obedient or respectful. In other stories, negative feelings were clearly shown as the mother was dominant or inconsiderate, and the son rebellious or irresponsible. There were many cases in which the two persons' reactions to an external event were so strong that the interpersonal relations were not described. It was found (Table 5-31) that the Chinese subjects made significantly more stories with Positive Feelings between the mother and son. The Scottish youths, on the other hand, made more stories in which the mother-son interpersonal feelings were overshadowed by the unhappy events with which they were confronted. For the stories with Negative and Neutral Feelings, the group difference did not reach the level of significance.

The stories with mother-son relationships could be further classified into subcategories according to their "Central Themes" of which brief explanations are given below:

A10 Misconduct-Forgiveness In these stories, the son often indulged in some kind of misconduct which caused anger or anxiety of the

mother; but the latter forgave her son and a happy outcome was followed or forecasted.

- A11 Misconduct-Reform The first part of the stories here was in general similar to that of those in A10; but it was the son's reform that led to the happy ending.
- A12 Misconduct-Advice Here the mother was depicted as giving her son verbal advice concerning his unhealthy behaviour. The outcome was not clearly described.
- A13 Misconduct-Imprisonment The son in these stories was later brought away by police or put into prison as a result of his unlawful conduct. Both mother and son were unhappy about it.
- A14 Discord-Harmony Mother and son had arguments or quarrels over something, but they became reconciled with one another and reached an agreement which brought harmonious life back to the family.
- A15 Discord In these stories, the discord between mother and son persisted without a definite solution. Consequently the negative feelings remained at the end of the story.
- A16 Discord-Separation Here the discord between the two parties ended in separation; it was always the son who went away and left the mother behind.
- A17 Separation due to other causes The "central theme" of these stories was the son's departure from home, but he was described as joining the army or getting a job somewhere else, with no ill feelings between him and his mother.
- A18, A19 Others, with positive feelings, and Others with negative feelings. These stories did not belong to any of the above mentioned subcategories, but there were clearly positive (or negative) feelings between the mother and son.
- B11 Facing Difficulties In these stories, the family was facing some kind of difficulty, and the mother and the son were both in a depressed mood, but their feeling towards one another was not described.

B12 Sad News Some sad news, often involving death or illness of a family member, was brought to the mother and the son who were therefore in deep sorrow.

B13 Unhappy Event An unhappy event took place which had no direct impact on the family (e.g. accident of a neighbour), but the two characters showed emotional reactions to it.

When the stories with mother and son relationships were classified into the above listed subcategories as shown in Table 5-31a, there were some interesting group differences. The Chinese adolescents made a number of stories in which the son was first involved in some kind of unhealthy or illegal behaviour but later reformed, often with the advice of the mother. Guilty feelings were frequently depicted in the son. However, such stories were rarely produced by the Scottish pupils, who tended to put the son into prison.

The total frequencies of the stories of Mother-Son Discord (A14, A15 and A16) were nearly the same for the two groups. However, the Chinese subjects seemed to have a greater tendency to leave the mother and son together in a discord situation. The Scottish young people, on the other hand, tended to end the discord in either Harmony (A14) or Separation (A16).

The Chinese made more "Other" stories with positive feelings but the group difference was not significant. Among the Other Stories with negative feelings produced by the Scottish youths, the son murdered the mother in three of the cases.

Table 5-30: The Interpersonal Relationships seen in Card 6BM

Relationships	Scots		Chinese	
	f	%	f	%
Mother-son	104	65.00	112	70.00
Wife-husband	7	4.37	11	6.87
Woman-man	47	29.37	31	19.38
Two people	-		4	2.50
Others	2	1.25	2	1.25
Total	160		160	
$\chi^2 = 8.44 \quad P < 0.10 \text{ n.s.}$				

Table 5-31: The Mother-Son Relationships seen in Card 6BM

Interpersonal Feelings	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
With Positive Feelings	24	23.08	56	50.00	4.09***
With Neutral Feelings	14	13.46	12	10.71	0.62 n.s.
With Negative Feelings	18	17.31	21	18.75	0.27 n.s.
Not Specified	48	46.15	23	20.83	4.00***
Total	104		112		

$\chi^2 = 12.90 \quad P < 0.01$

Table 5-31a: Mother-Son Relationships in Subcategories

Subcategories		Scots		Chinese		z
		f	%	f	%	
A10	Misconduct-Forgiveness	5	4.81	3	2.68	0.80 n.s.
A11	Misconduct-Reform	-		27	24.11	5.35***
A12	Misconduct-Advice	-		3	2.68	1.55 n.s.
A13	Misconduct-Imprisonment	7	6.73	3	2.68	1.43 n.s.
A14	Discord-Harmony	17	16.34	15	13.39	0.61 n.s.
A15	Discord	4	3.84	14	12.50	2.30*
A16	Discord-Separation	10	9.61	7	6.25	0.93 n.s.
A17	Separation due to other causes	7	6.73	9	8.03	0.36 n.s.
A18	Other themes with Positive Feelings	2	1.92	8	7.14	1.84 n.s.
A19	Other themes with Negative Feelings	4	3.84	-		2.55*
B11	Facing Difficulties	5	4.81	5	4.46	0.12 n.s.
B12	With Sad News	37	35.58	8	7.14	5.12***
B13	With Unhappy Events	6	5.77	10	8.93	0.87 n.s.

When the stories of discord were sorted according to their causes, it appeared that in a great proportion of cases, the son was fighting for independence from the mother. There was no significant group difference in that respect.

Unhappy events other than those concerned with mother and son relationships were also frequently mentioned in the stories for this card (6BM). The Scottish pupils showed a significantly greater tendency to make stories in this category. Among 48 of their stories, 37 involved some sad news, often the death or serious illness of a family member. This tendency was also shown in the Scottish stories with Woman-Man relations wherein the man, whether or not he was related to the woman, was often made the informant of the sad news (30 cases out of a total of 47). The Chinese subjects told significantly fewer stories involving Woman-Man relationships; when they did, they tended to describe some interpersonal behaviour between themselves (19 out of 32 cases) rather than an event involving somebody else.

C. Stories for TAT Card 14

For the stories written to Card 14 which was the second picture in the sequence of administration, the Central Themes could be classified into several main categories for which explanations seem unnecessary. The overall group difference here was not significant, neither was the difference between the two groups in most of the subcategories as shown in Table 5-32.

Nearly one third of the stories produced by the subjects of each group had the content related to stealing. In a majority of those cases, negative consequences, imprisonment (A1) or otherwise (A4), were made the destiny of this unlawful behaviour by about an equal number of Chinese and Scottish adolescents. About one sixth of the thieves, again equally distributed in stories of the two groups, were depicted as showing regret about their own conduct and reforming afterwards. It was in the Subcategory of "Stealing-Indulgence" (e.g. continuous stealing or stealing without negative consequence) that there were significantly more Scottish stories. If this is read together with the figures in the Subcategory C5 "Other Indulgence-Reform", the group difference will become clearer. To the Chinese pupils, stealing or other unhealthy behaviour often led to either reform or punishment; while to Scottish young people, law breakers could get away without being punished.

The next frequent central theme in the stories produced for Card 14

was suicide, and there were just about the same number of suicidal stories written by the two groups of pupils. But when the causes of suicide were sorted, there seemed to be some different tendencies. In the Scottish stories, more people committed suicide as a result of affective rejection, while in the Chinese stories suicide due to other kinds of frustrations was more frequently mentioned. Nevertheless, none of these differences was significant statistically.

In some stories (category CX in Table 5-32), the man in the picture was depicted as making attempts to escape from an unpleasant circumstance. The place could be his home, a locked room, or the prison where he was forced to stay without any justified reason. The central theme here was the idea of and/or attempt to escape from that unpleasant situation. In most of those stories, the outcome was favourable. The Scottish youths made more stories in this category than the Chinese pupils; the group difference was approaching the 0.05 level of significance. For illustration, an example of such stories is given below.

(Code No. 123118 Female Scottish) "The boy is running away from his parents and leaving through a window. A row with his parents has led to this as he had wanted to leave school, but his parents wouldn't hear of it. They wanted him to go to university then get a decent job. The boy is thinking that he will catch a bus and go away far and stay at a boarding house and get a job.

Afterwards the parents will contact the police and they will find him and he will see that his parents were right and will stay at school and go to university later."

In another category, the stories had a central theme of Loneliness (Category D). The character in the picture was seen as being left alone for various reasons. The feeling of Loneliness was clearly expressed. The Chinese made significantly more stories in this category and in most of the cases the loneliness was due to "Separation or emotional deprivation". One sample story is reproduced here as an illustration.

(Code No. 222217 Female, Chinese) "A man is opening his window. Several years ago, his parents were murdered by some one. So he left his home town to come here for a job.

He is now thinking of his parents who cared for him during his childhood. He is thinking of their kind and lovely faces, their soft and tender voices. He is thinking of the time when

he told his parents the interesting things which happened at school.

Now, he is alone, in a place away from home. The scene of moonlight reminds him of the old poem: 'Looking up at the sky, there is the moon; with head down, one thinks of his home'.

In a few years, he will establish his own family and his career."

Table 5-32: Central Themes of Stories for TAT Card 14

Central Theme	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
A Stealing	54	33.75	50	31.25	0.48
B Suicide	25	15.63	23	14.38	0.32
C Imprisonment due to reasons other than stealing	20	12.50	18	11.25	0.35
CX Escape from home or other negative circumstances	17	10.63	9	5.62	1.94
D Loneliness	10	6.25	21	12.50	2.08*
E Aesthetic Appreciation	7	4.38	9	5.62	0.52
G Other themes	27	16.87	30	18.75	0.46
Total	160		160		

$$\chi^2 = 9.60 \text{ n.s.}$$

Table 5-32a: Consequence of and Reactions to Stealing

Consequences or Reactions	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
A1 Stealing - Imprisonment	30	55.56	30	60.00	0.44
A2 Stealing - Regret, Reform	8	14.81	9	18.00	0.44
A3 Stealing - Permissiveness	14	29.93	5	10.00	2.10*
A4 Stealing - Other Negative consequence	2	3.70	6	12.00	1.59
Total	54		50		

Table 5-32b: Causes of Suicide

Causes	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
B1 Due to Guilt Feeling	7	28.00	5	21.74	0.50
B2 Due to Rejection	11	44.00	8	34.78	0.65
B3 Due to Other Frustrations	7	28.00	10	43.48	1.12
Total	25		23		

Table 5-33c: Causes of Imprisonment Other Than Stealing

Causes	Scots		Chinese	
	f	%	f	%
C1 Due to Other Crimes	6	30.00	5	27.78
C2 Due to Misunderstanding	3	15.00	-	
C3 Due to Political Reason	6	30.00	4	22.22
C4 Due to Personal Conflict	4	20.00	-	
C5 Misconduct, Reform emphasised	1	5.00	9	50.00
Total	20		18	

In general, the emotional tone of the stories written for this card was low and depressing though many writers tended to give a brighter outcome in the future. But a small number of our subjects (about 5% of the sample stories) projected happy feelings in their stories. They saw either "a beautiful moonlight" or "bright morning sunshine" in the picture. The character was depicted as enjoying the beautiful scenery. Hence the stories are classified in the category of Aesthetic Appreciation in which no group difference has been found.

Category G really contains a great variety of stories, the leftovers that do not belong to any of the other five categories. They do not have common elements in their manifest contents so it is very difficult to classify them into groups. They should be regarded as separate stories.

D. Stories for TAT Card 8BM

The stories made by the present two groups of young people for this frequently chosen TAT card could be classified into four categories; their frequency distribution is shown in Table 5-33. The figures indicate that there is a significant overall group difference. About 85% of the total production of stories had a central theme of either OPERATION or VIOLENCE. The Scottish pupils wrote significantly more stories of Operation than their Chinese counterparts who, in contrast, produced significantly more stories of Violence.

The causes of the physical ailment which required an operation have

been analysed (Table 5-34). Road accidents and other accidental injuries were made the number one cause and they were mentioned in 51 of the Scottish stories out of a total of 113. On the other hand, the Chinese subjects made only 22 stories involving that kind of cause. The group difference was statistically significant.

Illness of some kind was the next most frequent cause that led to an Operation. The Chinese pupils made more stories in this category; the difference approaches the 0.05 level of significance. A wound or injury in WAR was made another important cause for operation, and the number of war casualties exceeded those caused by Personal Conflict and Violence together. That was true in both Scottish and Chinese stories.

In regard to the result or outcome of the operation, the writers of the two countries seemed to have prescribed nearly the same fate to the patients in their stories. The rate of recovery was very high; in about 65% of the cases the surgical treatment had turned out to be successful. Among the rest of the cases, about half of them did not recover and for another half the result was not clearly stated. There was no group difference in any of these subcategories.

Table 5-33: Central Themes for the Stories for Card 8BM

Categories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
A Operation	113	70.63	83	51.87	3.44***
B Violence	39	24.37	62	38.75	2.77**
C Inspired Achievement	5	3.13	5	3.13	-
D Other Themes	3	1.87	10	6.25	1.95*
Total	160		160		
$\chi^2 = 13.60$ P < 0.01					

Table 5-34: Analysis of Causes of Operation

Cause of Operation	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
A1 Illness	32	28.31	34	40.96	1.84 n.s.
A2 Accident & Injuries	51	45.13	22	26.50	2.66**
A4 War	19	16.81	16	19.28	0.44 n.s.
A5 Personal Conflict	10	8.84	11	13.25	0.99 n.s.
Other Causes	1	0.85	-	-	n.s.
Total	113		83		

Table 5-34a: Results of the Operation

Result	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
Recovered	76	67.25	52	62.65	0.67 n.s.
Not Recovered	18	15.93	15	18.07	0.39 n.s.
Uncertain	19	16.81	16	19.27	0.44 n.s.
Total	113		83		
$\chi^2 = 0.54$ n.s.					

Table 5-35: Comparison of the Causes of Violence

Causes of Violence	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
B1 Enemies from other Country	3	7.69	1	1.61	1.52 n.s.
B2 Personal Conflicts	9	23.07	25	40.32	1.79 n.s.
B3 Violence	22	56.41	32	51.61	0.47 n.s.
B4 Other Causes	5	12.82	4	6.45	1.09 n.s.
Total	39		62		
$\chi^2 = 13.04$ P < 0.01					

Table 5-35a: Consequences of Violence

Consequence of Violence	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
Police Domination or Imprisonment	18	46.15	41	66.13	1.87 n.s.
Other Legal Consequences	3	7.69	6	9.68	0.34 n.s.
Escape	11	28.21	2	3.23	3.64***
Reform	-	-	7	11.29	2.17*
Other Consequences	7	17.95	6	9.89	1.17 n.s.
Total	39		62		
$\chi^2 = 19.03$ P < 0.001					

Table 5-35b: Relationships Between the Two Main Characters in TAT 8BM

Relationship	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
Relationship Specified	97	60.62	76	47.50	2.38*
Relationship Unspecified	63	39.38	84	52.50	2.35*
	160		160		

Table 5-35c: Specified Relationships between the Two Characters in
TAT 8BM

Relationships	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
Son (foreground) - Father	57	58.76	16	21.05	4.99***
Son (foreground)- Mother	12	12.37	2	2.63	2.36*
Friends	8	8.25	9	11.84	0.78 n.s.
Others	20	20.63	49	64.47	5.86***
Total	97		76		

The Chinese adolescents produced significantly more stories with themes of VIOLENCE than their Scottish friends. When the causes of violence were sorted, group difference seemed to appear in only one of the four subcategories. The Chinese wrote more stories with violence due to Personal Conflict.

There was also a group difference concerning the destiny of the persons who had committed the violence. In more than two thirds of such stories produced by the Chinese, the "criminals" were either caught by the law reinforcers or otherwise punished. This was far more than the proportion of the killers who had been treated similarly in the Scottish stories. In contrast, there were more Scottish youngsters who allowed the criminals to escape from the authorities without punishment. Some young Chinese authors made those violence-makers reform from their unlawful behaviour in the stories; but none of the Scottish junior writers chose such an ending.

Not infrequently, the young man in the foreground of this picture was related to the "patient being operated" (or "the victim of violence"). That happened in 97 of the Scottish stories, and among them a Father-Son relationship was depicted in 57 cases (58.76%). Such an arrangement occurred less frequently in the Chinese stories. Among the 76 stories wherein those two characters were related to one another, the Father-Son relationship was mentioned in only 16 of them (21.05%). The group difference was very significant.

E. Stories for TAT Card 12BG

The stories written by the adolescents of the two cultural groups for this card can first be classified into three categories: With Positive Feelings, With Negative Feelings, and With Neutral Descriptions. When the frequency distributions in each category are examined, one finds that there are more Chinese stories with positive feelings and more Scottish stories with negative feelings, while there are about equal numbers of Chinese and Scottish stories in the neutral category. However, one must be very cautious in reading these figures (Table 5-36) because the chi square indicates that the overall group difference here has not reached the level of significance.

The stories can also be grouped into a finer set of subcategories which are briefly explained in the following way:

- A1 Aesthetic Appreciation - The main content of these stories was some description of the scenery, praising the natural beauty of the forest along the river. When people were put in the story, they were often depicted as happy and contented.
- A2 Positive Interpersonal Relationships - The characters created in these stories were often family members, friends or young couples in love. Affective and harmonious relations were the general content.
- A3 Good Luck in Fishing or Hunting - Describing some fruitful event of hunting or fishing with joyful atmosphere.
- A4 Overcoming Difficulty - In these stories, some kind of difficulty was mentioned, but it was eventually overcome or passed (e.g. someone got sick but later recovered; or something was missing but was found).
- A5 Prosperity of a Place - The place in the picture was developed and became a big town or a spot of tourist attraction, and in some cases, with good facilities.
- A6 Personal Achievement - Something or some work was accomplished by the effort of a certain character or several characters in the story.

- B2 With Natural Disasters - Some kind of disaster, a flood or a famine, had taken place and caused the depressing scene. In contrast, the desolate picture was described as the result of war, in the stories that are classified in Category B5.
- B3 With Sad Events - Death, illness or Separation of People, or destruction of something was the main content but no violence was involved.
- B4 With Crimes or Illegal Activities - Some kind of criminal or illegal behaviour was depicted in these stories; violence and/or arrests were often involved. Smuggling was a frequently mentioned theme.
- C2 Seasonal Changes - Describing the changes of the scenery in the picture following the four seasons in a year, with, however, no apparent emotional involvement.
- C3 Other Neutral Descriptions - Stories with miscellaneous content with neither positive nor negative feelings.

The frequency distributions of the stories in each of those sub-categories are given in the following two tables, and significant group difference can be found in several cases. Listed in Table 5-36a are the stories with positive feelings which constitute about 44% of the total production. Here, nearly three fourths of those about Aesthetic Appreciation were written by the Chinese pupils, who seemed to have great interest in natural scenery. They also produced nearly all those stories concerning the future Prosperity of the Place, seeing the place in the picture develop into a business centre or a scenery spot. The Scottish adolescents made few stories in both these categories; instead, they tended to write stories with content involving some kind of difficult situation but the problem was solved afterwards. In many cases, the Boat was "in trouble" and later was brought back to its normal condition. When the effort by which the task was accomplished had not been mentioned, the theme was not considered as "Personal Achievement", another category of stories in which Chinese and Scottish writings were equally distributed.

Table 5-36: Distributions of the Stories for 12BG as they are
Classified According to the Feelings of Contents

General Feeling	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
A Stories with Positive Feelings	62	38.75	80	50.00	2.01*
B Stories with Negative Feelings	77	48.13	60	37.50	1.95*
C Stories with Neutral Descriptions	21	13.12	20	12.50	0.18 n.s.
Total	160		160		
$\chi^2 = 4.44 \quad P > 0.10 \quad \text{n.s.}$					

Table 5-36a: Further Categorisation of Stories with Positive Feelings

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
A1 Aesthetic Appreciation	7	11.29	19	23.75	1.90 $\rightarrow P < .05$
A2 Positive Interpersonal Relationships	14	22.58	13	16.25	0.95 n.s.
A3 Good Luck in Hunting, Fishing, etc.	5	8.06	3	3.75	1.11 n.s.
A4 Overcoming Difficulty	23	37.10	2	2.50	5.34***
A5 Prosperity of a Place	2	3.23	33	41.25	5.22***
A6 Personal Achievement	11	17.74	10	12.50	0.87 n.s.
Total	62		80		
$\chi^2 = 51.93 \quad P < 0.001$					

Table 5-36b: Further Categorisation of Stories with Negative Feelings

Subcategories	Scots		Chinese		z
	f	%	f	%	
B2 Natural Disasters	2	2.60	5	8.33	1.53 n.s.
B3 With Sad Events	26	33.77	23	38.33	0.55 n.s.
B4 With Crimes, Illegal Activities	22	28.59	11	18.33	1.39 n.s.
B5 War Effects	5	6.49	7	11.67	1.05 n.s.
B6 Unpleasant Situations	16	20.78	2	3.33	1.97*
B7 Miscellaneous	6	7.79	12	20.00	2.09*
	77		60		
$\chi^2 = 16.50 \quad P < 0.01$					

Table 5-37: Emotional Tone of the Stories

Emotional Tone Scale	Scots	Chinese		
5	6	9		
4	13	31		
3	38	43		
2	58	52		
1	45	25		
$M_S = 2.23$		$M_C = 2.68$	$t = 3.68$	
$SD_S = 1.06$		$SD_C = 1.12$		

Table 5-38: Outcomes of the Stories

Scaling Scores	Scots	Chinese		
5	12	22		
4	34	64		
3	52	32		
2	32	23		
1	30	19		
$M_S = 2.79$		$M_C = 3.30$	$t = 3.75$	
$SD_S = 1.21$		$SD_C = 1.22$		

Table 5-39: Position of the Boat in the Stories

Situation	Scots		Chinese		z
Boat ignored	25	15.62	58	36.25	4.21***
Boat merely seen	25	15.62	54	33.75	3.75***
Boat utilised in story	56	35.00	27	16.88	3.70***
Boat emphasised in story	21	13.12	14	8.75	1.25 n.s.
Boat as the central object	33	20.62	9	5.62	3.97***
	<hr/> 160		<hr/>		
	$\chi^2 = 55.00 \quad P < 0.001$				

Another 43% of the total production were stories with Negative Feelings of which the frequency distributions are also tabulated (Table 5-36b). In most of the subcategories, there was no significant group difference. The young authors of the two countries wrote a considerable number of stories with Sad Events which often involved death or destruction. Aside from this, a small number of narrators attributed the desolate scene in the picture to WAR while still fewer writers blamed Natural Disasters. It was only in the Subcategory "With Unpleasant Events" that group differences were noticed: about nine tenths of those stories were written by the Scots. Likewise, the Scottish stories which had unlawful themes were twice as many as the Chinese ones with similar contents.

Among the stories with Neutral Descriptions, more than one third were talking about the Seasonal Changes of the natural environment; the Chinese stories outnumbered the Scottish writings in that subcategory.

One minor point may also be of interest. In the 160 Scottish stories written for this picture, the Boat was mentioned in 135 of them (84.38%), and it was the central object in 33 stories. The Chinese youngsters did not seem to have paid the same amount of attention to the Boat which was completely ignored in one third of their stories. Only 50 Chinese writers utilised the Boat in their stories and just nine of them managed to make the Boat the main subject of the narration.

Two sample stories are given in the following:

(Code No. 222317 Female Chinese)

"This is a big forest, cultivated by the enthusiasm of the people living around here. The trees are grown up, well developed, and their leaves provide a good canopy of shade. The place has become a spot of public interest where people like to go for a walk.

In the past, it was a deserted place. People found it very inconvenient, and did not like to see such a depressing scene. So somebody suggested planting trees and developing the natural scenery. The idea was supported wholeheartedly by every one of the residents there. They have decided to make the place a "paradise" where they can enjoy the happiness of life.

Eventually, they will fulfil their wish; this place will become a very beautiful, very clean area which is in every aspect healthy and beneficial to the people in the community."

(Category A4 - Overcoming Difficulty - Code No. 112303 Male
Scottish)

"At the side of a river lies a deserted boat. There are no people around. It is after a storm and the boat has been badly damaged. A mile along the river, a fisherman looks for his boat and he wonders where it can be. He has to find it because it is the only boat that he owns.

After a few hours, he hears voices and rushes towards there. He finds a group of children playing in his boat. He gives each of them some money and goes back to his farm for a lorry to bring the boat back to his house."

In addition to the abovementioned comparison, the Emotional Tone and the Outcome of all the stories made for this picture have been evaluated on a 5-point scale. The general rules of rating suggested by Eron (Shneidman, 1951, p.58) are followed but positive scores, from 1 to 5, are used. Thus the score for a story with neutral emotional tone would be 3 instead of Eron's 0. Meanwhile the mark "?" for "can't make up a story" is dropped because of the absence of such cases in the present study. The general rules of scaling are as follows:

(A) General Rating Scale for Emotional of Stories:

- 1 Complete failure, submission to fate, death, murder, suicide, illicit sex with violence, revenge, aggressive hostility, severe guilt, complete hopelessness.
- 2 Conflict with attempt at adjustment, rebellion, fear, worry, departure, regret, illness, physical exhaustion, resignation towards death, loneliness.
- 3 Descriptions with a balance of positive and negative feelings, routine activities, impersonal reflection.
- 4 Aspiration, desire for success, compensation for limited endowment. Description with cheerful feeling, reunion with friends, contentment with world, feeling of security.
- 5 Justifiably high aspiration. Complete satisfaction and happiness. Reunion with loved ones.

(B) General Rating Scale for Outcomes of Stories:

- 1 Complete failure, submission to fate, death, murder, suicide,

extreme punishment, extreme remorse.

- 2 Some frustration: incomplete success in attaining goal, goal attained at expense of happiness, disappointment to friends and family, acceptance of unsatisfactory situation or submission to authority.
- 3 Continuation of ordinary situation, balance of happy and unhappy situations.
- 4 Moderate success, reunion with friends, recovery from temporary disability or depression, happiness in success of others.
- 5 Great success, discovery, and/or happiness. Extreme contentment, marital bliss, unusual good fortune, reunion with loved ones.

When the frequency of the ratings was tabulated (Tables 5-37 and 5-38), it was found that the mean value of the Emotional Tone of the stories was below the middle point of the scale. However, the stories written by the Chinese adolescents were comparatively happier than those produced by the Scottish pupils. Likewise, the Chinese youngsters generally predicted a brighter Outcome in their stories than that foreseen by their Scottish counterparts. These differences between the two groups were at the 0.01 level of significance.

CHAPTER 6: FURTHER ANALYSES OF RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the three instruments used in the present study have been presented in the last chapter. They will be analysed and discussed in detail in order to derive some useful information concerning the social attitudes of the two cultural groups of adolescents. To do this, all material obtained from the three tests will be put together and examined simultaneously. The data will be utilised as fully as possible. However, it is not the intention of the author to pretend that he can, with his limited knowledge, explain all the facts that have been found in this study. For many of them, the explanation would need further research.

In order to have the material utilised in an organised manner, the discussion will be focussed on the following aspects:

1. The attitudes of the two groups towards people - this section will cover their attitudes towards parents, people of opposite sex, teachers, the self and people in general.
2. The attitudes of the two groups towards the world - here the ratings on the concept "The World" will be analysed and that will be followed by a discussion of their attitude towards two major social institutions, the family and the school. In addition, their attitude towards criminal behaviour, which is an important social phenomenon in today's world, will also be studied.
3. Likes and wishes of the two groups - in this part, the responses of the youths concerning their likes and wishes will be compared cross culturally. What are the moments that have been considered their happiest time will also be discussed.
4. Fears and troubles of the two groups - here we will look into the things and situations that the adolescents see as their greatest fear or trouble. Meanwhile the matters that have annoyed them or made them regret will be analysed.
5. The attitude towards the future - in the last part, we will analyse how the two groups perceive their future. In connection with that, "the kind of person that they would like to be" will be discussed.

Since the main objective of the present study is to make a group

comparison, the discussion to follow will be focussed on the major differences or similarities in the attitudes of the two cultural groups. The limited time and space will not allow a general coverage of any one particular item, for instance, a detailed inventory of the fears of one group or the other. Some of the material will have to be left to a separate paper.

Results from the Incomplete Sentence Blank (ISB) indicate clearly that there is a remarkable similarity between the two cultural samples in their attitudes towards parents. In general, the responses made by the Scottish and the Chinese adolescents showed, directly or indirectly, positive feelings towards the father and the mother and, as one can easily predict, more of such feelings were related to the latter. Even though there were seventeen Scottish subjects who expressed negative feelings towards the mother, and that number was statistically significantly greater than the Chinese responses in that same category, such a negligible fraction of cases out of a total of 477 did not provide reliable evidence to cast a shadow over the generally positive mother-child relationships in Scotland. There were a few more negative responses towards the father in both samples (8.37% of the Scots and 5.80% of the Chinese), but they, too, constituted still only a very small portion of the two groups as a whole. Thus, the general picture which the test results have brought out is that both Scottish and Chinese adolescents see the mother as "kind", "loves her children", and "important to a family", and the father as "a good man", "very nice to my mother and myself", and "very clever and level headed". That is, in fact, the true picture.

In Scotland as well as in China, parents bring up their children with love and care. They provide a home for the youngsters where the needs of the latter, physical and psychological are, in general, adequately met. Children are given sufficient affection and guidance in their course of growing up. Though the food, the toys, the schedule of feeding and the measures of discipline that Scottish parents provide for their children may be different from what Chinese parents do for theirs, the essence of parental love is the same in these two countries. There is a close tie between the parent and the child in both Scottish and Chinese families at least before the child reaches his maturity. And children love their parents too; and they also learn to respect the elders. They soon learn, along with other things, the commandment that "thou shall honour thy parents", a concept which has been equally

stressed in the teachings of Christ and of Confucius.

In spite of the difference between the patterns of child care in a Western urban community (Newson, 1963) and that in the East, the role of each parent in the family as seen by children in the two countries seemed to be rather similar. Like her Scottish counterpart a Chinese mother is seen as a kind, nurturing figure whose main responsibility is to "look after her children lovingly", "help her child when in need", and "stay at home and...". A considerable number of the youths have stressed that a mother is important and needed in a family. In contrast, very few young people mentioned what their father did at home. Instead, they tended to name the occupation of the latter, indicating that the father's role as a bread earner was unmistakably recognised. There were definitely more authoritarian descriptions related to the father than to the mother, a fact suggesting that, in an ordinary Scottish or Chinese family, the father represents the authority and assumes greater responsibility for disciplining the children. This inevitably created some conflict between the father and the child who consequently showed more negative feelings towards the father than towards the mother.

The fact that the Chinese adolescents showed more positive responses than their Scottish friends (more specifically, less negative feelings towards the mother and more positive responses towards the father) is quite understandable. In China, filial piety or "Hsiao" has traditionally been considered the first of all virtues. It is one of the main teachings of Confucianism and is deeply seated in the minds of Chinese people. Although the concept that "parents are always right" is much less prevalent today than it used to be, the idea that children should not criticise their parents, at least not openly, is still generally observed. The public usually withholds its sympathy to an individual who does not respect or obey his parents. Moreover, the book of Twenty Four Models of Filial Piety¹ is widely circulated and its stories

1 A book said to be written by Kuo Chu-yeh of Yuan Dynasty (1280-1368 A.D.) with stories such as a man who gave up his official post to search for his long lost mother, a boy who stole oranges from his host in order to give his mother a taste of fresh fruit, and a girl who contracted herself to be a maidservant in a rich family in order to bury her father, etc.

are known to people in all walks of life including illiterates who can learn them through the play, opera, and other media besides written language. Even today people who have shown devoted filial behaviour towards their parents are highly praised and respected by the community. One would often feel more offended when his parents, rather than himself, is made the object of a curse or an insult.

But we do expect some negative feelings on the part of average children towards their elders sometimes, particularly during the period of adolescence when they demand a great amount of independence and yet they are not mature enough to appreciate thoroughly the apparent restrictions exercised by their parents. However, young people in China know well that it is against "Hsiao" and propriety to express such feelings openly. Their few negative responses are perhaps all one can get from a test like the Incomplete Sentence Blank in which subjects are fully aware of the meaning of their responses. When they came to the TAT pictures, they seemed to feel freer to depict more disturbed relationships between the family members in the pictures. In their stories to the TAT 6BM, there were just as many negative feelings between the son and the mother as there were in the Scottish stories for the same card. While in many stories the discord between the two generations ended happily in harmony, there were cases in which the hostile feelings remained unresolved. If the TAT stories can be interpreted as projections of the feelings and fantasies of the storyteller, then those protocols seem to suggest the existence of repressed hostility towards the mother on the part of the Chinese adolescents.

One may expect some cultural difference in regard to the cause of discord between the two generations as shown in the TAT stories. Nevertheless that point was not supported by the findings of the present study. The young writers of the two countries seemed to have very similar ideas concerning the possible conflicts between the two generations, namely disagreement in selecting a marriage partner for the boy, in choosing a job, or in exploring better opportunities for development away from home. The common theme of these stories was the urge for independence on the part of the young generation. The fact that the frequency of this important theme was about the same in the stories produced by the two groups of subjects suggests that there is no difference between the Scottish and the Chinese adolescents in regard

to their need for independence.

The outcomes of the stories with themes of disharmony between the mother and the son are also worth noticing. When these stories are grouped into three subcategories: Discord-Harmony (A14), Discord-Sustained (A15) and Discord-Separation (A16), most of the stories written by the Scottish junior authors fall into either A14 or A16: the Hero was either reconciled with his mother or he left his mother and went away. The Chinese writers did not seem to like their stories to end in separation, so they often kept the mother and the son staying together even though the two parties might not have brought the family back into harmony. The discord was sustained, but the family remained unbroken. This tendency to maintain the family structure is obviously far greater among the Chinese than among the people in a Western culture. This can be related to the hypothesis made by Hsu (1955) that in Chinese families members are mutually dependent, so that they would rather stay together in spite of discord than separate from one another. This may also explain the fact that divorce is a far more serious matter in the eyes of Chinese people and consequently it has a lower rate in Chinese societies.

Thus one may conclude that both Scottish and Chinese adolescents seem to have a similar view concerning the probability of parent-child discord and the possible causes of conflict; but they have different opinions in regard to the solution of the problem. While the son in the Scottish stories tended to go away for his own good and independence and to leave the mother behind, the young man in the Chinese stories would choose to maintain the integrity of the family, leaving his need for independence unfulfilled. The latter is an example of JEN - "to subdue oneself for propriety" (Confucius Analects, XII, 1.).

The picture of the TAT 6BM is a rather depressive scene, so the stories based from that are, in general, not very happy in their emotional tone. But within this general framework there are a good variety of ways of making a story. For those stories with themes of mother-son relationships, some depicted a very close relationship between the two generations with some kind of interaction; others presented a rather loose mother-son relationship in which the interpersonal feelings were not specifically described. In the former

group of stories, the son was often seen either in some kind of trouble due to his self indulgence (A10-A13 , Table 5 - 32a), or in conflict with his mother (A14-19). In the second group of stories, the mother and the son were facing some kind of external difficulty (B11), confronted with some sad news (B12) or with some unhappy events (B13). It has been found that there are more Chinese stories in the first category and more Scottish stories in the second. This group difference does not seem to be merely a coincidence, but may be related to the cultural background of the two groups.

In a traditional Chinese family, when some trouble arises, it is often the younger generation that takes the blame. The elders, on the other hand, play the role of those who offer supervision and guidance or exercise disciplinary measures. Though the idea that "Parents cannot be wrong" is no longer held by middle class Chinese, the above-mentioned pattern of behaviour is very common in China. Hence it is not strange for the Chinese youngsters to write stories in which both the mother and the son are so depicted to fit the Chinese family structure.

The Scottish adolescents would not share this viewpoint of course. Brought up in the Western culture where self-reliance has long been emphasised, they do not want to put the blame on the younger generation with whom they are most likely to identify. They probably do not like to be too harsh to the elders and to let them assume the responsibility either. Hence a logical solution was to turn to some external object, something that happened in the outside world, for instance, a traffic accident. Thus in their stories, the mother and the son were facing something together, sharing the same feeling, meeting the same difficulty. This way, the young and the old were in the same stand and they were "equals". This is exactly what young people in the West today have in mind.

One thing which puzzled the author for some time was that, among the positive responses towards parents on the Incomplete Sentence Blank, the Scottish subjects made more responses in which they related themselves to the father or the mother while the Chinese youths tended to respond with general descriptions ("A mother is a nice person"). Does this suggest a closer parent-child relationship in the Scottish family than in a Chinese family? One may believe so;

because there are many situations in Scotland that may have helped to bring the family members close to each other. The five-day work system gives the adults more time each week to stay at home to be with their children; the general possession of automobiles enables the members of a family to visit places together; and religious belief often brings the members of a family to the same church. All these could have strengthened the tie among the family members. But it is not easy to evaluate the effect of these phenomena. Besides, there are also numerous factors which are pulling members of a family away from each other; the emphasis on independence may drive the young people away from their parents; the availability of a great variety of opportunities for leisure activities may divert the interest of an individual to something different from the common interest of the family; and rapid social change may broaden the gap between the generations. So there are things that have positive effects on the parent-child relationship in a Scottish family, and there are those with negative effects as well. There is no way of knowing which have the greater strength.

Perhaps there is no real difference between the two cultures concerning the quality or the closeness of parent-child relationships, and the difference simply lies in the expression of such intra-familial relationships. There is plenty of evidence that would support this latter hypothesis. In a Western society, interpersonal affections are frequently expressed openly. People address one another by intimate names, they embrace and kiss one another in public, they exchange pleasing remarks about each other's clothing, appearance, and everything eloquently and sometimes exaggeratedly. They want to show how much they admire and love one another. The affection between family members is usually strong and its expression is in an extremely warm and intimate manner.

In China, however, there are different customs. In the first place, people are not encouraged to express their feelings openly, but to have them conveyed subtly, quietly and even poetically. The Chinese feel that so long as one has communicated his feelings to his partner, there is no need to make a loud expression of it. They do not measure affection by the sweetness of the words; on the contrary, "words with

honey" are to be watched. It is a general belief that the truer the affection is, the more subtle its communication will be.

Affection between parents and children is regarded by Chinese people as the Supreme Love within human relationships. It is believed to be a part of human nature. When a child is young, his parents would express their love and affection quite openly, by words and by action, probably not too differently from what Scottish parents would do to their child. But the open expression of affection decreases as the child grows, and when the child reaches school age the parental love will no longer be expressed in words because by then he should know that he is loved. To be sure, the parental love is not at all withdrawn as some investigators put it, it is not openly expressed. Generally the child can feel it; but there are probably cases in which the expression is made so subtle that it is actually beyond the awareness of the child. It is through these experiences that a child learns to express his affection. By the age of six or seven, a child often knows that he has lost the privilege of embracing or clinging to his parents and will feel bashful to say those sweet words that he used to say to his parents. He will have to learn new ways to express his affection and respect to his parents as well as his feelings to others around him. And he will learn it. There are thousands of ways for a parent to express his kindness and for a child to perform his filial piety, and Chinese people put words and open expression at the bottom of the list. That can account for the fact that fewer Chinese adolescents related themselves to their parents in their Incomplete Sentence Blank responses.

Psychologists of personality often stress the importance of the self-concept of an individual because it is a key factor that determines one's approach to adjusting to the outside world as well as the manner of satisfying his own needs. Combs and Snygg (1959) made it very clear that one's behaviour is always "determined by and pertinent to his phenomenal self". While the development of the self-concept is a continuous, lifelong process, it reaches, as Cole and Hall (1970) stated, a period of "intensification during adolescence when the constellation of life experiences, of expanding horizons, of deepening emotions and of widening social contacts evokes a central need in the adolescent to recognise himself as a whole person, and to relate himself to other individuals and to the social patterns in which he lives (p. 271).

The Semantic Differential of the present study has obtained some direct measurements of the self-concept of adolescents from China and Scotland. With a few exceptions, most of the median scale scores of both groups were above the neutral point, indicating that the youths in the two countries had, in general, a positive, favourable attitude towards themselves. They felt that they were good, active, strong, friendly and happy - certainly very encouraging findings! Such a positive self image could only be expected when a youth is brought up in a healthy and secure environment, in and out of the family, where his needs have been adequately met. Perhaps adults in these two countries could give a sigh of relief as they seem to have provided for their younger generation, by and large, the right things that are helpful to their development.

There are a few low ratings which are not difficult to explain. The Chinese subjects rated themselves lower than the neutral point on the Beautiful-Ugly scale and that was due partly to the fact that "Beautiful" was not a common adjective for the boys. Moreover, even the girls in China would generally hesitate to rate themselves as "Beautiful" for two reasons: firstly, good virtues and ability to handle domestic affairs are considered more important qualities for a

Chinese woman than beauty; and secondly, according to the Chinese custom, everybody should be humble and rate himself low.

The Scottish adolescents gave themselves low scores on two scales: Powerful-Powerless and Important-Unimportant. Society today, even in the West, is mainly adult-oriented. Although young people in Western countries have generally been given good care and education and they are encouraged to be independent, they have not been given any real power. They have probably more freedom than their Chinese counterparts to express their ideas and feelings, but what they have said is rarely seriously considered by adults except by a few child psychologists. In British schools, the abolition of corporal punishment is still an unsettled issue (Newell, 1971). Only very recently, the BBC Nationwide Programme has received letters from young pupils complaining that they were forced to eat everything during a school meal, that they were detained in school after class because of some minor misconduct; and that their personal things were confiscated by school authorities and not returned (Broadcast on February 28, 1973). It seems, therefore, that those low ratings of the Scottish youngsters are reflecting their feelings to part of the reality.

In contrast to the low rating of the Scots, the Chinese gave themselves a rather high score on the Important-Unimportant scale. This is an unexpected result to many people because it seems incongruous with the attitude of humility of the Chinese. (The philosophy of humility will be discussed more fully later.) This apparently ambivalent phenomenon can probably be attributed to the fact that Chinese children are frequently told by their teachers that they are "important". Sayings such as "Children today are masters tomorrow", "Time cultivates youths who will in turn create the future" are often posted on the walls in schools. The idea is to tell the young people that they will have important responsibility in the future and that they should prepare themselves for it. In other words, that is really a way to encourage the youths to work hard, to make the best use of their school years and to develop themselves for the important tasks that lie ahead of them. Since they are regularly conditioned to such a conception, it seems easy to understand that they would rate themselves highly when they are asked to evaluate their own "importance". Perhaps many of them do not yet have a thorough understanding of those sayings.

One significant result here is the high rating of the Scottish youths on the scale Active-Quiet. According to Havighurst et al. (1965), to be active is an indication of self-assertion and autonomy. They rated the Chicago adolescents higher on this characteristic than the Buenos Aires group because the former saw themselves as more active. It seems that the high self rating of being active of the Scottish adolescents can be interpreted in the same manner. It follows that the Chinese youths would be regarded as less assertive and less autonomous than the Scottish pupils since the former's rating is lower on the same scale. That is very close to the truth because to be quiet is a sign of self-restraint which, up to the present time, is still considered a positive way of adjustment in China. The amount of self-control of an individual is often regarded as an index of his self-cultivation.

In a study of Chinese university students with the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), the present author (Hwang, 1967) found that they showed greater needs for Deference, Order, Abasement, Succour, Nurture and Endurance, and had lower scores on the scales of Dominance, Autonomy, Introspection, Exhibition, Change and Heterosexuality. To explain the result, several excerpts from the Confucian Analects were quoted:

"Tuan-mu Tze said: 'Our Master gets it (his information) through his gentleness, his superiority, his humility, his restraint, and his complaisance.'" (Analects, I, 10.)

"Confucius said: 'He who in this world can practice five things (humility, magnanimity, sincerity, diligence and graciousness) may indeed be considered Man-at-his-best'". (Analects, XVII, 6.)

"Great Men cherish excellence.....cherish the rules and regulations....." (Analects, IV, 11.)

Then Hwang went on to conclude that humility, gentleness, restraint and living by rite were highly desirable traits among Chinese and they are actually synonyms for abasement, deference, endurance and order in Edwards' terms. (Hwang, 1967, p.62.)

Abbott, after his thorough analysis of the data on the California Psychological Inventory of Chinese subjects in San Francisco and Taipei, concluded that "Chinese are more self-restrained, less extroverted and sociable (in the American sense). Sensitivity to the opinions of others is a factor in day to day psychological functioning" (Abbott, 1970, p. 228). Yang (1972) studied Chinese university

students with the Morris' Ways to Live Questionnaire and found that their best liked way to live was Morris' Way II: To Preserve the Best Achievement of Human Beings (with characteristics such as following the social convention, preserving the traditions and maintaining the present situation with self-control and acceptance of social restrictions). All these previous findings are in good congruence with the present result that the Chinese subjects rated themselves low on the Active-Quiet scale.

In fact, the generally lower self evaluation of the Chinese adolescents on the Semantic Differential can be interpreted as an indication of another important Chinese characteristic, humility, which may also account for the significantly more negative feelings of the Chinese to Item "I" on the Incomplete Sentence Blank. Traditionally, Chinese people have been taught to be humble or moderate, not to express openly their contentedness with their own virtue, ability or achievement. One should always keep an "empty mind" (Shu-sing) so that there is always room to learn more, to accept advice and guidance from others. The old-time Chinese scholars used to regard the bamboo as the "Chun-Tze" (the perfect man) in plants because of its hollow stem which symbolised the capacity for receptivity of helpful suggestions and tolerance of criticisms. It has been a common concept that the more one has achieved in self-cultivation, the better able he would be "to keep his mind as empty as a valley". This idea of being humble has not only been prevalent in classical readings of Confucianism, but also in simple general public readers such as the Three Character Classics¹ which includes sayings like "Boasting invites damage, humility receives blessings". Young people in Scotland have generally learned not to boast (they felt that boasting was very annoying as revealed by the present study), but their Chinese friends have been taught to go still a step further.

1 The Three Character Classics is, according to one source, composed by Ying-ling Wang at late Sung Dynasty (960-1260 A.D.). It is a simple reader for the beginners in the old days. All its sentences are short with three characters only and are written in rhymes, so that it is easy to learn. The book contains bits of nearly everything, from Confucian teachings to everyday knowledge.

It has also been noted that to Item I in the Incomplete Sentence Blank, the Chinese pupils made a greater number of responses in Categories I (with positive feelings), II (with negative feelings) and III (with neutral feelings), while the Scottish adolescents gave significantly more responses in Categories IV (activities), V (likes and dislikes), VI (needs) and VII (expectations). (See Table 5-13.) In other words, the Chinese subjects tended to make descriptive statements about the static situations of themselves. Typical examples were: "I am a good, lively student", "I have a well built physique", and "I am fourteen this year". In contrast, the Scottish youths had a greater tendency to express their inner dynamic conditions of which some illustrations were: "I am going to school camping next Saturday", "I get bored watching repeats on the television", and "I would like to go to Spain for a holiday". Thus the two groups seemed to differ from one another in their ways of presenting themselves. This may be counted as another illustration of the self-assertion of the Scots and the passiveness of the Chinese.

The above-mentioned result could also be related to the lower need for Exhibition of the Chinese people as revealed by Hwang (1967) with the EPPS. According to Edwards (1953), Exhibitionism means the tendency "to say witty and clever things, to tell amusing jokes and stories, to talk about personal adventures and experiences, to have others notice and comment upon one's appearance, to say things just to see what effect it will have on others, to talk about personal achievements, to be the centre of attention," . There is little wonder that Chinese who are educated to be humble and yielding would score low on this scale. With little motive to exhibit themselves, the Chinese would naturally just tell others their superficial without revealing their inner world when it is not necessary.

C Attitudes towards the Opposite Sex

When the responses of male and female subjects to the Incomplete Sentence Blank items "BOYS" and "MOST GIRLS" are separately treated, one can get some information concerning the attitude of the Scottish and the Chinese youths towards people of the opposite sex, and the figures are as follows:

Table 6-1: Attitude towards the Opposite Sex shown in ISB Responses

Response Categories	Scots Male	Scots Female	Chinese Male	Chinese Female
Positive feelings towards boys	126	162	80	49
Negative feelings towards boys	30	49	18	130
Positive feelings towards girls	96	116	122	126
Negative feelings towards girls	88	31	60	67
Good relations between self and boys	24	21	4	4
Good relations between self and girls	19	21	2	4

It is shown here that the number of Chinese boys who had positive feelings towards MOST GIRLS is more than that of the Scottish boys with similar feelings, and is twice as many as the Chinese who have negative feelings towards the opposite sex. On the other hand, the number of Chinese girls who showed negative feelings towards boys is far greater than that of those with positive feelings, and that is just in contradiction to the situation of the Scottish girls who predominantly have a positive attitude towards the opposite sex. It is, therefore, the Scottish boys and the Chinese girls who have a more antagonistic attitude towards their opposite sex.

One should not get the impression that Chinese adolescent girls do not "like" boys. Up to the present time, co-education is a general practice in Chinese schools at both the elementary and university level: but the two sexes are segregated in secondary

schools, i.e. between the age of 12 to 18. In other words, Chinese adolescents do not have much opportunity to mix with the opposite sex of their own age, except their own family members or relatives. As a consequence, they really have very little direct experience in regard to the goodness or badness of people of the opposite sex. On top of that, their society does not encourage the open expression of interest in heterosexual relationships. If a boy at junior high school level says that he is fond of girls, he will be laughed at by his peer group. In the case of a girl who says that she is interested in boys, the consequences will often be more serious: she will be ridiculed, teased and perhaps be regarded as "undignified" or "losing her self-respect". This explains why, when there are 39 Scottish young people who frankly react to the item "I like" with responses "people of the opposite sex", only one Chinese subject (surprisingly a girl) makes the similar kind of response. To the item "What annoys me", a small number of our subjects responded with "people of opposite sex", but here the Chinese did not outnumber their Scottish friends, indicating that the former do not have any more hard feelings against the opposite sex than the latter.

The heterosexual relationship of the adolescents in the West seems to have followed a more natural course of development in a more permissive atmosphere. As co-education is a general practice in secondary schools in Scotland, boys and girls have the opportunity to contact each other throughout the growing years. Scottish society is rather openminded towards normal heterosexual associations. Hence the interest of the Scottish adolescents towards the opposite sex is generally awakened earlier than among the Chinese young people. Cole and Hall (1970) pointed out that boys and girls in the West normally develop friendships with each other during the early and middle years of adolescence, with the girls leading the way. The "boy crazy" and "girl crazy" periods occur at about the age of thirteen to fourteen and sixteen to seventeen respectively, and they serve a practical purpose in giving experience in courtship and in providing the basis for the subsequent selection of a mate. In one study of "dating" of girls, Dixon (1958) found that 20% under 14 did some dating, 70% of those over 14 said that they dated regularly, as did 90% over 16. Another report mentioned that the age for

beginning to date for half of the 2,000 adolescents studied was judged to be 13 or 14 and 15 or 16 for the other half. Bearing this information in mind, one can easily understand the fact the Scottish girls included in this study with their age at the margin of maturity tend to have positive feelings towards boys. The latter, who generally reach their maturity one or two years later than the girls, have still kept a neutral attitude towards their opposite sex.

These sex differences among the Scottish adolescents can also be found from their responses to another ISB item "DATING", part of which is shown in the following:

Table 6-2: Attitude towards DATING

Categories of Responses	Scots	Scots	Chinese	Chinese
	Male	Female	Male	Female
With Positive Feelings	94	150	55	30
With Negative Feelings	40	30	77	109
Dating Will Make Me Nervous*	-	3	39	41
Have no Experience of Dating	25	21	36	60

*This is a subcategory of Negative Feeling Responses.

Here again the Scottish girls showed more positive feelings towards dating. Also evident is the cultural difference in this attitude between the two national groups. Clearly the Chinese youths show less positive and more negative feelings towards dating than the Scottish pupils. The explanation of this group difference is indeed not necessary because it is a known fact that Chinese people have a very conservative attitude towards heterosexual relationships. Generally young people in China do not have much correspondence with the opposite sex until they reach college years. Even then the boy-girl relationship is still quite different from that in a Western culture. Hwang (1967) found that Chinese university students showed a very low need for heterosexuality in a study with the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), (11.07% for men and 5.15% for women, whereas the norms for the American university population is

17.65% and 14.34% respectively). It would sound absurd to conclude that Chinese young people at university level have so little interest in heterosexual relations; rather one should say that, in respect of the heterosexuality operationally defined by Edwards in his EPPS, the Chinese people show a very low preference.

The data here does not provide information concerning the prevalence of actual experience of dating. A small number of the Scottish boys and girls voluntarily admitted that they had such experience, whereas not a single Chinese youngster made the same response. Although the figures of the responses in the category "Have no experience" might not represent a true picture of such cases, they could be regarded as an index of the relative acquaintance of the two cultural groups with the opposite sex. One can, therefore, say with considerable certainty that there were more Chinese than Scottish who had no actual experience of dating.

The fact that the Chinese girls showed a much stronger negative feeling towards dating seemed to be a reverse of the expected picture. This was due, as it was mentioned before, to the greater social restriction on the heterosexual relationships of the girls in China. Chinese adolescent girls would refrain from expressing openly any positive attitude towards dating in order to avoid teasing or criticism. Instead, they often quickly and loudly denounced this social activity as "not good", or "time-wasting". The defensive nature of such statements is obvious. Some of the youths apparently did not succeed in making a complete cover of their real fantasy about dating and admitted that "Dating will make me nervous". Another kind of evasive response of the Chinese youngsters was to stress the importance of punctuality of dating in order to tone down the emotional element of it. A similar technique was also adopted by some 35 of the Scottish subjects who read DATING as "time recording of some event" and completed the sentence accordingly. By so doing, they cleverly by-passed the emotionally charged stimulus word. However, one should also be aware of the fact that while "dating" is a commonly used word among American adolescents, there is a possibility that some of the young Scots may really not understand its meaning.

Although there was no attempt to explore the attitude of the young people towards sex, there was evidence of greater freedom on the

part of the Scottish adolescents than of the Chinese pupils in talking about sex. In the Incomplete Sentence Blank responses such as "MOST GIRLS are sexy" or "...are beautiful and sexy" were made by many Scottish boys. Several of them also made sexual intercourse part of the themes in their stories for TAT 12BG. The frequency of such responses was indeed low, but those responses did not appear at all among the protocols of the Chinese subjects. The comparatively permissive attitude towards sex in Britain has doubtless caused the difference. Such an attitude has been openly or subtly preached through newspapers, magazines and other mass media which often contain a good deal of material directly or indirectly related to sex. Young people are, in a way, pushed by this permissiveness toward a new model of behaviour. Schofield (1966) showed for Britain in 1965 that, among the nineteen-year-olds he studied, one in three of the boys had experienced sexual intercourse and one quarter of the girls. Such a phenomenon, according to Smith (1968), was clearly associated with the much greater freedom of movement which young people, especially girls, now enjoy. It is also in line with the growing similarity of experience and privileges of men and women which has been taking place over wide areas of social relationships in modern Britain. Thus a high valuation on bridal virginity, as Leach (1963) remarked, "implies a grossly inferior status for women in society at large". On the other hand, Chinese people have a very conservative attitude towards sex. Though sex is not so much tabooed as it used to be in China, there is still a great restriction on heterosexual relations. Young people may be curious about sex, but generally they will not make it a topic of everyday conversation or a theme of their TAT stories.

D Attitudes towards Teachers

The results of the Semantic Differential in the present study indicate that there is a significant difference between the two cultural groups concerning their attitudes towards teachers. The Chinese adolescents made definitely more positive ratings for MOST TEACHERS than their Scottish friends on nine of the ten scales. The one exception was the Active-Quiet scale on which Chinese teachers were rated "Quieter" than teachers in Scotland. But as it was pointed out before (p.50), to be "Quiet" often means self-restraint which has been considered an asset rather than a liability in China. Hence, generally speaking, the Chinese pupils have a significantly more favourable attitude towards their teachers than the Scottish subjects. Similar differences were also found in some of the ISB responses: there were more Scottish pupils than Chinese youths who admitted that they had poor relations with teachers IN SCHOOL; the number of Scottish subjects who said that "The kind of person I would like to be is a teacher" was only one half as many as those who expressed the same wish in the Chinese group.

This result is not at all surprising. While teachers are respected at various degrees in different countries and especially in Scotland, it is in China that they have had the highest status. There are many reasons for it. First, teachers in China were traditionally associated with Confucius who himself had been regarded as "The Ever-lasting Teacher" and it was mainly the teachings of Confucius that had been taught in the old days. The fact that a teacher was a "learned person" also made him respected as, in the past, there were not many who had the opportunity for schooling. Meanwhile, as was emphasised in the book of Great Learning¹, the primary objective of learning was self-cultivation. Thus it followed that a teacher, as a learned person, should have put the teachings of Confucius into practice and, as a result, he was a man of good virtue.

1 The Great Learning, together with The Doctrine of the Mean, The Confucian Analects, and The Works of Mencius are called The Four Books which contain the basic teachings of Confucius.

The status of teachers was further emphasised when Mencius stressed the need for them to be in place of parents "because, between father and son, there should be no reproving admonitions to what is good." "Such reproofs," said Mencius, "would lead to alienation, and than alienation there is nothing more inauspicious" (The Work of Mencius, Book IV, Part I, XVIII). This statement seemed to suggest that a teacher was a substitute for the father in doing the job of teaching a child. Hence, he should be regarded as an authority and respected as one's own father.

With such a background, teachers were placed among the five most revered subjects in Chinese communities. The other four were: Heaven, Earth, the Emperor, and Parents. In the old days, the five characters which designated those five subjects were written on a tablet which was placed in a shrine of each house along with the tablets of the ancestors of the family, to be worshipped regularly.

There have been, of course, changes in regard to the status of teachers in the long years of Chinese history. Since the adoption of the modern school system, the teacher has been playing a less authoritarian role than he used to do, and efforts have been made to establish a more democratic teacher-pupil relationship in all levels of schools. However, as Confucianism remains the major philosophy in Taiwan, the concept of "Tsen Shih Chung T'ao" (To honour the teacher and to respect the principle) is still considered an important principle. The community in general and young people in particular pay great respect to teachers who, in turn, are always trying to make themselves good models for their pupils. This and the long existing traditions account for the higher ratings the Chinese pupils made on their teachers.

One should not ignore the fact that both Scottish and Chinese youths felt that teachers were important and powerful (but the Chinese made higher ratings in both cases). That is easy to understand because in both Scottish and Taiwan schools, teachers have the authority to maintain the discipline of the pupils and to grade their academic achievement. To keep the classroom in order, teachers can put restrictions on students' activities, can order the students to work on something in which they may not have any interest, and can

sometimes use the cane or, in Scotland, the "strap".¹ In regard to the matter of giving marks, the responsibility of teachers is even more obvious. To the pupils, their grades or marks are very important references in determining their positions in the class as well as their opportunities for further schooling. The academic grades are of even greater concern to the young people in Taiwan because most of them wish to continue schooling at the senior high school level.

Although the adolescents felt that teachers were important and powerful, not too many of them had an interest in becoming teachers themselves in the future. To the ISB item "THE KIND OF PERSON I WOULD LIKE TO BE", only twenty Chinese pupils and ten Scottish youths made "A TEACHER" as their response. That seemed to indicate that teaching was not a very attractive career to the youngsters. The result is in agreement with that of other studies. Clarke (1968) found most of her British secondary modern pupils did not choose teaching as their future career. Butcher and Pont (1968) asked 1,500 Scottish pupils to rate 15 careers on six criteria and discovered that their interest in science teaching was much lower than that in other jobs in the field of science application or research. In Taiwan, the meagre enthusiasm of adolescents for a teaching career has been indicated by the fact that only a very small portion of high school graduates gave the teacher training institutions as their first choice when they applied for the Joint Entrance Examinations of Universities and Colleges.

People often think that the unattractive salary of teachers is the main factor that has deterred young people from joining this important profession. Teachers in Scotland are not satisfied with their salary level (Hunter, 1972) neither are the teachers in Taiwan where they are paid on the same scale as other government service personnel. But the information collected by Clarke (1968) has led her to conclude that the financial status of a teacher was only one factor. Other factors which seem to have deterred the young people

1 Corporal Punishment in schools is still not formally abolished in Britain, nor is it completely stopped in Taiwan, though teachers there are not supposed to apply it.

from the career are monotonous work, fear of undisciplined classes and lack of opportunities for promotion. In Taiwan, where the discipline of classes is rarely a problem, there is evidence of the existence of the other two causes. One additional factor in Taiwan schools is the heavy responsibilities of a teacher, as the classes are usually larger than those in schools in the West. Wilson (1962), in his interesting and full of insight analysis, attributed the mediocre status of teachers to the "less urgent, less dramatic nature of their role". Hunter (1972) also pointed out that in the teaching profession there is absence of "mystique", such as that found in medicine and law. When the society today values dramatic or even glamorous achievements, the profession which has the responsibility for meeting the stable, normal needs of a community tends to receive less social respect. It seems that something should be done to raise the status of teachers and to make the career more attractive to our young people, as teacher shortage is at present a common problem in many countries.

E Attitudes towards People in General

When the Scottish adolescents were asked to rate People in General on the Semantic Differential scales, seven of the median scale scores were above the neutral point. When they were asked to complete the sentence with the item "PEOPLE", about 57% of them made responses with positive feelings. The Chinese pupils made nearly the same kinds of response. It is, therefore, evident that the youngsters from the two countries generally have a positive feeling towards people as a whole. This is doubtless a comforting sign: when our youths feel that people around them are Good, Warm and Friendly, they will have a sense of security.

Attitudes are, of course, acquired. As Hollander (1967) put it: attitudes can be considered to be the psychological representations of the influences of society and culture. In a sense, the favourable perception of people of the adolescents reflects the positive attitude of the two communities in general. In Scotland, with Christianity as the main religion, the general population has been regarded as extremely devout and churchgoing people (Meikle, 1958). In a book entitled Scotland and Her People, Buchanan clearly pointed out that "It was the Bible, more than any book, that made the Scottish people literate, and did something to shape the national character.....For three centuries it was the 'Guid Buik' of the people" (Buchanan, 1961, p.100). Hence, to the Scots, all people are children of God, and "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself". It seems that the Scots have demonstrated well their belief in their warm hospitality to their visitors. Most of this love of giving hospitality springs genuinely from a generous heart to which McLaren (1956) thought there was nothing comparable in any other country in Western Europe. Having been brought up in such a society, the youths would naturally have a positive attitude towards people.

In China, the concept that men are born with good nature was in the teaching of Confucius, and was strongly emphasised by Mencius (Book of Mencius, VI). This concept appears in the very first two sentences of the popular reader The Three Character Classics and has been a widely accepted idea. It has been a tradition in a Chinese

community to publicise the good deeds of people and to cover their wrongdoings. In recent years in Taiwan, praising the Good Men and their Model Behaviour has been a nationwide annual event. It seems very natural, therefore, for the Chinese adolescents to perceive people in general with positive feelings.

Perhaps it is worth noticing that the Chinese subjects made their highest rating on the Importance of People. That again may reflect the basic philosophy of the Chinese. The concept of JEN, the essence of Confucianism, is to establish harmonious relationships with people through self-cultivation. All the virtues that were stressed by Confucius and his followers, such as filial piety, fraternal love, loyalty, sincerity, propriety and righteousness were nothing more than a set of proper ways of dealing with people. Tse-hsia once said: "If a man withdraws his mind from the love of beauty, and applies it as sincerely to the love of the virtues; if serving his parents, he can exert his utmost strength; if, in serving his prince, he can devote his life; if, in his intercourse with his friends, his words are sincere; although the man says that he has not learned, I will certainly say that he has." (Confucian Analects, I, 7). Thus clearly, the major objective of 'learning' in the sense of Confucianism is to establish harmonious interpersonal relationships. Every learned individual is supposed to aim at that goal even at the cost of self-restraint and of humility. One will easily get the feeling that people are really important to him. In Western society where independence and self-reliance are emphasised, one does not see much "importance" of others.

To live by rite in order to maintain a harmonious interpersonal relationship among the Chinese people has led some investigators to believe that there is a lack of intimacy and warmth on the part of the Chinese. Yang et al. (1963), for instance, found that their Chinese subjects did not give "Skin" as a popular response to the Rorschach Cards IV and VI and concluded that it was the formal relationship the Chinese maintain with other people which resulted in lack of awareness of contact with others. The findings of the present study do not support such a view, however. Here the Chinese subjects rated "People in General" very highly on both Friendly-Hostile and Warm-Cold scales, indicating that they seemed to

have felt the warmth and friendliness of the people with whom they associated.

It is true that traditionally Chinese people have been taught not to express their emotions and feelings very openly, and this has been noticed by some Western scholars who had contacts with Chinese families. Wolf (1969) observed that village parents in Taiwan felt that the open expression of affection towards an older child was not only in bad taste but bad for the children. Solomon (1969), who made his study in Taiwan and Hong Kong, found that traditional Chinese education tended to discourage children's self expression of ideas and feelings. However, restriction on the overt expression of feelings does not mean their non-existence, nor does it suggest one's ignorance of, or insensitiveness to the feelings of others. Chinese people have learned to convey their messages subtly, silently, and sometimes poetically, not necessarily with words or overt activities. Instead of "lack of awareness of contacts with people", the opposite may seem to be closer to the truth: Chinese people would be more sensitive to interpersonal feelings.

This may also account for the fact that the Chinese subjects rated "People in General" as far more "complicated" than the Scottish subjects. Complicated means "not easy to understand" and "very difficult to deal with"; it is not a very bitter or harsh negative adjective because it does not put all the blame on the other party. On the other hand, it reveals part of the picture: the unpredictability of human behaviour and the complexity of human relationships. A parent may give his child permission to do something on one day but may forbid him from doing it on the next; a teacher may give a high grade to a pupil's work on one occasion but may reject it completely on another. Schoolmates, too, often show inconsistent behaviour at different times when the external conditions are more or less the same. It is indeed very complicated.

One noticeable cultural difference here is that the Chinese adolescents mentioned significantly more frequently the Obligations and Responsibilities of people in their responses to the Incomplete Sentence Blank items. This indicates clearly that the Chinese were very much concerned with the responsibility and obligation of human

beings: one should (or should not) do something at a certain moment in a particular manner. Hsu (1955) proposed that this characteristic of Chinese in emphasising an individual's appropriate place and behaviour among his fellow men he called 'Situation Centred'. This trait can be traced to two of the traditional virtues: LI or propriety and YI or righteousness. The latter refers to the proper behaviour in a given situation, whereas the former refers to the appropriate manner of performance. Much has been said about these in Confucian teachings and they were frequently quoted in previous Chinese studies (Mei, 1967; Chai, 1959; and many others). If one has only noticed that both Propriety and Righteousness are two of the Four Rules (SZU-WEI)¹ which have been made the common motto of all Chinese primary and secondary schools in Taiwan, one can easily understand the fact that Chinese young people are so much concerned with the "Oughtness" of an individual's behaviour. There are many maxims related to this concept and students in Taiwan often have learned them by heart.

What has generally been said concerning the obligation of an individual is actually the same as the role expectations of the community. It seems that the traditional teachings in China have tried to make it clear to everyone how he should play his role in the family as well as in the community. It is perhaps puzzling that, among the ISB reactions, the Chinese subjects made a considerable number of responses related to obligation to the items of "BOYS" and "A MOTHER", but not to those of "MY FATHER" and "MOST GIRLS". This does not mean that the latter were exempted from responsibilities. If something is expected from a certain category of people, there should not be any exemption. Hence an obligation is either for "all girls" or for "A girl" when that stands as an infinitive noun; but not for just "Most girls". In the case of a father, he certainly has very important responsibilities inside and outside the family. However, the "oughtedness" of a father is nothing for his own child to suggest because he himself would have a good knowledge of it. Thus, a child will rarely write a sentence such as "My father should or ought....". It would also be interesting to mention that "Boys" in Chinese language, as in English, may mean "males in general and does not necessarily imply any age boundary. As a matter of fact, "boys" in many cases does refer to grown-up men rather than youngsters. Some of the responses to that particular item in the Incomplete Sentence Blank should be interpreted as such.

¹The Four Rules ("SZU-WEI") are Propriety (LI), Righteousness (YI), Cleanhandedness (LIEN), and Shame (CHIH).

A Attitudes towards the World

It has been pointed out that the two groups of young people had significantly different opinions about THE WORLD. It was on this concept that the two groups showed the greatest difference in their semantic differential ratings. The Chinese pupils made much higher and more positive ratings on eight of the ten scales than the Scottish youths, who made higher scores on the Simple-Complicated and Warm-Cold scales.

The concept of THE WORLD is a very complicated one. When a person is talking about the world, he may refer to the physical or geographical world, he may mean the political world, the nations and the states; or he may mean the social world, or the people in the world. When he makes ratings from one scale to another, his idea of the world may also change from time to time. It is likely that one tends to think about the physical world, its mountains and lochs, when he is rating its Beauty; but he would probably think more about the nations and states when he comes to the scale of Powerfulness; and when he is evaluating its Friendliness, the focus will often shift to the people in the world. Of course, there is no fixed rule about it.

The three comparatively low ratings made by the Chinese adolescents were on the last three scales. They tended to feel that the WORLD was very complicated, not very friendly, nor very warm. Apparently these reflected the feelings of the people in Taiwan towards the international situation at that very moment when the test took place. That was in the spring, 1972, just a short period after the Republic of China was forced to withdraw from the United Nations. Her diplomatic relations with many countries also ended at that time. What the people in Taiwan could see from the world was indeed a very complicated picture with little warmth and friendliness.

The country is facing a great difficulty. People in Taiwan realise fully that the future of the nation depends largely upon their own effort, but they have not failed to see that it is also closely tied with the entire international situation. They can easily see the IMPORTANCE and the possible influence (POWER) of other nations in relation to their own. Hence they are watching the world with great alertness. In schools,

children are regularly given information in regard to the current events of different parts of the world and their connection with Taiwan. As a result, young people there often get the same kind of impression as do adults concerning the Importance and Power of other countries in the world. That could have accounted for their high ratings on the two related scales.

As is mentioned before, the ratings on the Good-Bad and Beautiful-Ugly scales tend to be related to the physical or geographical world. This being so, the relatively high ratings of the Chinese on these scales can probably be attributed to the information provided by the texts of geography in high schools in Taiwan. Those readings, in general, present more of the positive and beautiful aspects than the dark side of various places of the world. When they are supplemented with pictures or colour films the impression will be even more beautiful. Moreover, Taiwan itself is a beautiful place; its name given by the Portuguese, Formosa, is a good proof of that. All these make their positive ratings for the World quite understandable.

Although the Scottish youths rated THE WORLD significantly lower than did the Chinese subjects, only two of the Scottish ratings were clearly below the neutral point. Besides that, they made five positive ratings and had another three (Good-Bad, Happy-Sad, and Friendly-Hostile) so slightly under the middle line that they could really be regarded as neutral. These ratings indicated that the Scottish pupils also saw the Importance and Strength of the world, which meant that they were aware of the close interrelations and mutual dependence among the nations. But they did not feel the Complicatedness nor the Power of the world; perhaps that was because Scotland was not involved in any national or international conflict at this moment.

On the other hand, THE WORLD looked beautiful and very quiet to the Scottish youths. Such an impression was doubtless related to the beauty and peacefulness of Scotland, as one often perceives the world through his immediate environment. However, the Scottish youngsters did not seem to be completely satisfied about their life there, so they gave only middle grade ratings concerning the WORLD's goodness and happiness.

There is no evidence, however, that the WORLD of the Scottish subjects is not as happy or pleasant as that of the Chinese subjects. It is more likely that the differences in ratings do not mean any

substantial difference in the actual object involved, rather it is the subjective attitude of the raters that have created the contrasts. It seemed that the Scottish pupils had a more critical attitude when they were asked to make evaluations of something: they tended to be frank and straightforward in their responses. The Chinese youths, on the other hand, tended to be more generous in giving favourable evaluations because of their traditional teachings. In China, people have, for centuries, been taught to be kind and generous to others. They have been encouraged to publicise the good deeds of others but to cover their faults. Following this principle, it has been a general practice in China to over-rate the assets of someone, but to say little about his weakness. The fact that not many critical book reviews have been written by Chinese scholars may serve as an illustration.

There are probably two functions of this kind of behaviour. To be uncritical of others is one way to avoid criticism from others. The saying that "Not to do to others as you would not wish done to yourself" (Analects, XII, 2) had been repeatedly made by Confucius when he taught his disciples about interpersonal relationships. When one of his favourite disciples, Tsze-Kung, expressed this very wish, the Master remarked: "You have not attained it". This indicated that a great emphasis was given to such a concept. This is in agreement with the principle of Reciprocity which was discussed previously; kindness to others is a natural way to invite a return of kindness. Harmonious interpersonal relationships can be developed through such an approach.

The second function of being uncritical is of a defensive nature. It is, of course, a good virtue to have great tolerance towards others and the outside world. But when such behaviour is over-emphasised one may develop a habit of not noticing unhappy things in the world, or of turning one's head away from them. Gradually, one may develop a false perception of reality with a blind spot on the dark aspect of the external environment. As a consequence, one may begin to have unrealistic hopes, wishes, and, perhaps, aspirations, setting goals which are actually out of one's reach. The trace of such trends seemed to exist in some of the responses of the Chinese adolescents.

On the other hand, the Scottish youths seemed to be able to express their opinions and feelings more frankly and freely. As they did not show any sign of being over-critical, such self-expressive behaviour could be an indication of self-assertion. One needs good confidence

to show occasionally his negative feelings towards an object or an individual so long as the criticism is based on some objective evidence. Thus the difference between the two groups in their ratings about The World should perhaps be interpreted not merely as a difference in opinion, but as an indication of personality differences. In other words, the result here suggests that the Scottish youths are more self-confident than their Chinese counterparts.

B Attitudes towards the Family

It has been pointed out that on the Semantic Differential scales of the present study, the concept FAMILY received the most favourable ratings from the two groups of youngsters and was also the one concept towards which both Chinese and Scottish adolescents had the greatest amount of agreement in their attitudes. All those youths found the FAMILY a Good, Warm, Friendly and Beautiful place; they all saw its Importance, and felt Happy there. Among the responses to the item AT HOME in the Incomplete Sentence Blank, it was also found that a big majority of the subjects in the two groups had either positive or neutral feelings towards their life and activities at home. With these similar findings, it seemed certain that, by and large, both Chinese and Scottish youths enjoyed their family very much. Meanwhile, the two groups made nearly the same number of responses which indicated their "Good Relations" with their family members (Table 5-14a, Sub-categories 13-15). Apparently the parents in the two countries have done a good job in providing a pleasant and warm family life for their children.

The number of responses with negative feelings towards HOME was indeed very small (32 among the Scottish pupils and 51 among the Chinese subjects). But the fact that the youths in Taiwan made significantly more of such reactions deserves some further investigation. From the distribution of the frequency of the responses, one would find that the negative feelings of the Chinese result from "Dull and Uninteresting" life at home and from "Difficulty with Siblings". It is not difficult to explain these two problems if one knows the actual living conditions of an average Chinese family in Taiwan.

Today every family in Taiwan is well fed and has a fairly decent accommodation. With the rapid economic growth of the country in the last two or three decades, there has been a steady increase in per capita income¹. Fruits of the prosperity have been shared by all families on the island and the gap between the rich and the poor has been greatly narrowed down. However, the living standard of the general Chinese population and the availability of modern housing facilities is still lower in comparison with that of an average home in Scotland and other well developed Western countries.

¹China Handbook, July 1972.

The house of an average Chinese family is often smaller than that of a Scottish family of the same social status; a Chinese child of school age usually has to share a room with other family members. Lack of space would limit the activities of children at home and consequently may make life there dull and uninteresting. However, this does not seem to be the most important factor.

What seems to be the key factor is that Chinese pupils do not really enjoy any relaxation at home. This may be partly attributed to the general belief of Chinese parents that the discipline of a child at home is more important than enjoyment. It is their responsibility to cultivate the morality of the child and to guide him to do "what is right". It is also believed that such teachings can be more effectively carried out by an authoritarian approach than by affection and understanding. Hence a child is constantly reminded of "propriety" or the proper way of behaviour. He has to learn to do the right thing at the right time lest he will be scolded or punished. He knows that his parents love him; but he also realises the importance of obeying his elders and of meeting their expectations. Thus a Chinese adolescent often does not feel completely at ease in his home. The fact that over 20% of the Scottish pupils said that they simply "watch television" or "eat and sleep" at home suggested the existence of an atmosphere of ease and relaxation. The far smaller number of such kind of responses of the Chinese adolescents seems to be an evidence of lack of relaxation at their homes.

Another factor, perhaps a more evil one, that has kept the Chinese young pupils today from relaxing at home is the heavy homework from the school. Though there is no reliable statistic in regard to the number of hours a Chinese secondary school pupil has to spend on his daily homework, there is little doubt that he has to do far more drills of mathematics and recitations in language lessons after school than pupils of his age in any Western country. Hence very little time will be left for him to play or relax. Although television is no longer a luxury for average Chinese families (it is estimated that there is one set in every three families, and the rate is probably higher in Taipei area), most of the children of high school age usually have to stay away from it. In some homes, the machine has to be turned off in the evening in order not to disturb the youngsters. In extreme cases,

often children attending private schools do not go to bed until eleven o'clock or still later at night. They are doing that merely to get high marks to prepare themselves for a very competitive entrance examination for entry to a senior high school.

Actually some of the facts mentioned above are at the same time the causes of difficulties among the siblings in Chinese families. Limited space in the house inevitably increases the chances of conflict and mutual interferences; and lack of relaxation often makes trivial irritations such as unhostile teasings or unintentional disturbances serious incidents. The situation becomes still worse when one or more members of a family are under the pressure of, or frustrated by, their heavy homework. One frequently-mentioned difficulty of the Chinese youths with their siblings was found to be "At home my younger brother (or sister) disturbs my homework". It is therefore evident that the difficulties are mostly caused by situation rather than reflecting any true hard feelings among the Chinese siblings.

One very interesting difference between the two cultural groups that there were a considerable number of the Chinese youths who responded to this ISB item "At Home" by mentioning their own birth order in the family or the number of their siblings. Very few Scottish young people made such responses. This did not seem to be an incidental difference, rather something with cultural significance. The ordinal position of an individual in a Chinese family has been given a good deal of attention for over two thousand years. It was, traditionally, indicated in one's name, and such practice can still occasionally be found today. Among the siblings, one is generally addressed as "second older brother" or "fifth younger sister" instead of being called by one's first name. It should also be pointed out that, in Chinese language, the word for "older brother" is different from that for "younger brother", and the same is true in the case of sisters. Hence there will be no confusion about the order. Parents often call their sons or daughters "No. 2" or "The fourth one".

This way of addressing a person is by no means limited to the family circle; sometimes it is extended to the community as well. One may call a person "The third gentleman in Chen's family"; to omit the personal name is polite. In the case of a well known person or someone with high social status, he is often just called "The third gentleman"; his family name is dropped but his ordinal position is retained.

Students of Chinese history can easily trace this tradition back to the teachings of Confucius. When Mencius, an important follower of Confucius, talked about the proper tenor of each of the five interpersonal relationships of his time, he made it clear that "there should be Affection between parent and child, Righteousness between ruler and subjects, Distinction between husband and wife, Order between old and young, and Sincerity between friends." (Work of Mencius, Book III, Part I, 4). The Virtue T'i, or fraternal love which is often placed only next to filial piety, is the proper way to deal with older brothers. Thus in a Chinese family the younger ones should always respect their older siblings and regard them as the authority in the house during the absence of the parents. Although the proprieties between older and younger siblings are not so strictly observed today as they used to be, the respect of seniority is still a very common custom in a Chinese community.

The emphasis on the ordinal position has helped to strengthen family ties in China. Calling another member in a family "my third brother" or being called thus so increases the intimacy between the two parties involved. One is constantly reminded of the fact that he is a member of a certain family, closely tied with other members, and not just an individual. When the ordinal position is so arranged to include the cousins (sons or daughters of the brothers of the father), the number of members in the same order will naturally be greater and it suggests a stronger support from the family. Incidentally, in China today, one's ordinal position in the family is always recorded in his formal census registration and is indicated on his personal identification card. Hence it is not surprising that many Chinese youths tended to identify with it when they were asked about their families.

There is, of course, always the other side of a coin. While naming one by his ordinal position may have positive effects on the intrafamilial relations, it has probably some negative effect on the development of the feeling of independence on the part of the individual. A man, since his early childhood, has been directed to see himself as a member of a family, as holder of a certain position among his siblings, as a part of a larger whole. He is not led to see himself as an independent person, or an integral unit. He and

his personal name are of secondary importance, it is the family that is of primary concern. Wherever he goes and whatever he does, he has to consider first not his own benefit but that of the family. Latourette (1965) pointed out in his work on THE CHINESE, THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE, that in China the individual did not make his own decision....the adjustment to the established group and to its opinion was the supreme requirement. He went on by saying that "The family discourages individualism. Chinese life, as we have seen, was in groups of many kinds, each of which exercised a restraining influence upon its members. Of these none was so strong as the family" (p.573). With such restraint, it would certainly be difficult for an individual to develop himself to the fullest extent.

Educational authorities in both Scotland and the Republic of China should be pleased to see that nearly sixty per cent of the young people from the two countries showed positive feelings towards their schools. Indeed, this is a very encouraging result. In fact, the two countries have been trying hard to provide for their youngsters what is believed to be the best education. Scotland has often been proud of her educational system which has been following the ideals set by John Knox and his colleagues as early as 1560. "As a result of an early start and fairly rapid progress, Scottish education, by the nineteenth century, had earned for itself a considerable reputation throughout the world" (Hunter, 1972, p. 1-21). The Republic of China has allocated 25% of her annual budget on education which is regarded as the biggest industry in the country.¹ However, one should not think that either group of adolescents is completely satisfied with the kind of schooling that they have been receiving; the fact that a sizeable number (23.5% of the Scots and 12.83% of the Chinese) openly expressed negative feelings towards the school should not be overlooked. Some were not interested in one or more school subjects, others did not get along with their schoolmates, and still others found that teachers were "far too strict". There were also responses indicating rather general dissatisfactions (e.g. "In school I feel bored," and "In school the time goes slowly which is bad"). One probably need not be over-alarmed about such responses which can be found among any national sample of young pupils. Nevertheless they do indicate that improvement is needed.

The fact that there were fewer Chinese subjects who expressed negative feelings towards school should be interpreted with great care. It has been pointed out elsewhere that Chinese people are usually not encouraged to express their feelings overtly, particularly the negative ones. As the school is often regarded as an authoritarian institution, it is not to be criticised freely. The Scottish youngsters, on the other hand, have more freedom in expressing their feelings and ideas and they generally do not regard their teachers

¹Reported in Chinese Year Book, 1971.

and schools as reverently as do the Chinese pupils. These facts may account for part of the group difference in their attitudes towards the school.

The foregoing explanation is not merely guesswork: there is evidence indicating that the Chinese pupils perhaps do not like their schools any better than their Scottish counterparts. The negative feelings of the Chinese pupils were not directly expressed in their responses to the item "IN SCHOOL", but they were well indicated elsewhere. Over 22% of the Chinese adolescents considered school work as their "GREATEST FEAR" while only 5.22% of the Scottish subjects made the same response (Table 5-22). Likewise, the Chinese pupils who saw school work as their ONLY TROUBLE significantly outnumbered the Scots who shared the same feeling (Table 5-24). Moreover school work was the GREATEST WORRY of 31.38% of the Chinese sample, whereas a far smaller proportion of the Scottish sample worried about it. These figures consistently suggest that school work has been a far heavier burden to the Chinese youths than to the Scottish adolescents. Going to school is a very serious matter to the Chinese.

In China, learned people were traditionally ranked as the highest class in the society, followed in order by farmers, labourers and merchants. For over twelve hundred years government offices had to be reached through examinations which only learned people had the opportunity to pass. Consequently the social status of those who had the privilege of becoming scholars rose to the top level. This created among the Chinese a conception that higher education was the only way for young people to climb up the social ladder, and parents would often do all they could to send their children to school. Although there have been tremendous social changes in the last four or five decades and the country has marched towards industrialisation, the remark once made by Tze-Hsia, one of the seventy two disciples of Confucius, that "The student, having completed his learning, should apply himself to be an officer" has remained quite an influential statement. At present, university education is no longer a luxury to children from working class families in Taiwan; and entering a higher institution is the goal for almost every child when he begins his schooling at the age of six. The comprehensive education which

has been adopted in recent years has not had much success in channelling Chinese youths into vocational trades.¹ Hence a bottleneck is formed at the end of the junior high school when public education stops. In order to be admitted to a senior high school, young people in Taiwan have to pass a very competitive entrance examination for which they have to make preparation a long way ahead of time. That has led to an extremely unhealthy phenomenon in junior high schools - cramming. The amount of anxiety among the young people has often become so great that it has ceased to produce any positive effect on achievement, but has reduced, for many of them, the total schooling to fear and worry.

The general tension and anxiety of Chinese school life may have also accounted for the differences between the two groups in their responses in two other categories: the Scottish pupils showed a greater tendency to associate THE SCHOOL with some kind of activity; the Chinese adolescents mentioned more frequently their obligations ("In school, I should learn hard") or their achievement ("In school, I am good in mathematics"). Those statements made by the Chinese seemed to indicate their over-selfconsciousness. They were apparently very much concerned with their status in the school and were constantly anxious about their own adequacy in both academic achievement and social behaviour. As their marks and their relative ranks in the class are indicated in the monthly report to the parents, it seems natural that the Chinese youths are so much preoccupied with achievement. They seem to have the need to review constantly their self-image to make sure that they have made good adjustment to the school environment. In contrast, few Scottish pupils made that kind of response, indicating that they were more at ease in the school situation and had greater self-confidence than their Chinese friends.

¹ According to a report published by the Educational Bureau, Taipei, about 80% of the 33,014 graduates from junior high schools in Taipei in 1970 furthered their schooling in some kind of higher institution including vocational schools. This is in contrast with the 27%-70% of school leavers in the four Scottish schools included in this study.

D Attitudes towards the Social Control of Unlawful Activities

There was no test item in the present study directly related to social control; but two of the TAT pictures elicited a great many themes of crimes and violence. Through such stories, we can get some impression of the attitudes of the two groups of young people towards unlawful activities.

Among the stories made for the TAT Card 8BM, violence was one of the two major themes. Thirty-nine of the Scottish stories and sixty-one of the Chinese ones involved themes of violence, mostly murder. It is interesting to see how the "criminals" were treated by our young authors. In the Chinese stories, the individual who committed violence was either caught by officers of the law and sent to prison or he reformed his evil behaviour. On the other hand, the Scottish junior writers allowed eleven out of the thirty-nine cases to escape without any negative consequence.

Similar facts can be found in the stories written for the TAT Card 14. Here, Stealing was a frequently depicted theme and the two groups produced nearly the same number of such stories. While most of the thieves were imprisoned and some of them showed repentance for their unlawful conduct, a small number indulged continuously in stealing. Again, group differences were noticed: whereas the theme of indulging in stealing appeared in over one-fourth of the Scottish stories, it could be found in only ten per cent of the Chinese stories.

These findings seem to indicate a very interesting but significant difference between the two groups: In the minds of the Chinese adolescents, criminals should be reformed or they should be punished by law, whereas in the minds of the Scottish young people, many of those who have committed crimes could get away without being punished. In other words, the Chinese youths showed a much firmer stand concerning the treatment of unlawful activities: such behaviour should face the justice of law. This result seems to be contradictory to a generally conceived opinion of many students in Chinese studies. It is felt that Chinese people are not very keen about "ethical universalism" (Parsons, 1949; Hinker, 1969) and tend to allow the relationships between oneself and the individuals concerned to affect the application of ethical duties. How valid such an opinion is and to what extent

Chinese people are more "particularistic" than people in the West are difficult questions to answer and are also beyond the scope of the present discussion. But the Chinese adolescents in this study demonstrated well that they handled their criminal cases by "principle", and such an attitude has its cultural background.

The idea that unlawful conduct should be punished can be related to the concept of reciprocity or return or PAO in Chinese language. The idea is that one will always get a return from what he has done: for one's good deeds the return will be a reward; for one's evil conduct the return will be some kind of punishment. That is how social order can be maintained. In the old days, administrators of all levels would try their best to have reward and punishment appropriately applied, and that was held as an essential criterion of a good magistrate. L. S. Yang (1957) made a lengthy analysis of this concept and felt that it was a basis for social relations in China because an individual would try to return what he had received from others, particularly the good things. However, Yang did not seem to have given adequate attention to the function of this traditional concept in relation to the preservation of social order. The present author suspects that it was for this important function that the concept of PAO was developed in the first place. Rewards and punishments were used as positive and negative reinforcements respectively to shape socially desirable behaviour. It was in this context that Confucius made his comparatively strict instruction: "to recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness" (Confucian Analects, XIV, 36). There he was not talking about ordinary interpersonal relationships for which he usually stressed the principle of JEN or kindheartedness, but was concerned mainly with social order.

The functional significance of the concept of PAO can be understood more clearly when we notice the subsequent broadening of its involvement, of its form or nature, and of its time limit. Firstly, retribution was believed to operate on a family basis - an individual's good virtue will bring to his family an exuberance of happiness, and his evil behaviour, calamities. Secondly, Heaven was believed to be bound by this principle of reciprocity so that a harvest or a natural disaster could be a repayment for one's good conduct or wrongdoing. Thirdly, retribution was not limited to only one life; with the belief in

transmigration, it could operate through a chain of lives. With these convictions, one could easily bind two separate incidents into a cause-effect relation, an action and its return. Thus no one could challenge the certainty of the principle of PAO, but tended to accept that "nothing would be passed without a repayment which sometimes is only waiting for the right time." That sounded very fair and just, and it would make people feel that things were going on in the path of justice which they, too, should follow. A great number of Chinese folk stories, operas and songs had this concept as their main theme and they certainly helped to bring this concept to every corner of the country and throughout the ages. The story about an ant which placed itself at the spot on a scholar's examination paper where a dot was missing in order to help the scholar to pass the examination because of the latter's good virtues was a well-known example.

But this is just one part of the whole picture. Chinese people realised fully that "since not every one can act as a saint, he cannot avoid all mistakes" and that it was not good to have so many punished. To make things easy for ordinary people and to be in harmony with the principle of JEN, sinners would be forgiven as long as they would repent of their follies. Confucius made it very clear that "it would be the greatest good if one could reform himself from his fault" (Confucian Analects, XV, 29), and along with that were his teachings of KUAN (generosity), SHU (kindness and forgiveness), and HUEI (kindness). All these seemed to be complementary to the principle of reciprocity or return.

The abovementioned principles have generally been given great attention in moral education in Chinese schools. Regulations or rules involving reward or punishment are made known to pupils and their applications are handled with great care. It is generally believed that fairness is the key to the maintenance of the respect of the rules. Teachers would try to avoid favouritism when they were dealing with the conduct of pupils. Meanwhile the youngsters are encouraged "not to fear to abandon their faults". With such an orientation, it seems very natural for the Chinese pupils to treat the criminals as they did in their stories.

There is no doubt that those concepts exist in Scotland and other countries in the West, but they are not so much emphasised in Western

societies as they have been in a Chinese community. Moreover, crime stories or their twin version, detective stories are frequently used as themes of fiction, comics, and television programmes. The stories have often been made so very dramatic and mysterious that the act of a crime has been depicted as an adventure. The criminal in the story sometimes receives from the audience, especially from young people, sympathy and even admiration which overshadows or dilutes the feeling that the evil one should be punished.

One may have the feeling that what the Scottish youths described in their stories might be actually closer to fact in the West where many criminals do succeed in getting away without negative consequence. For example, a considerable number of those who have committed bank hold-ups, bank van robberies or murder are still at large. The killings and bombings in Northern Ireland are, of course, not ordinary criminal cases; nevertheless, they have created among the public and among the youths the view that those who kill are not necessarily punished. Hence the Scottish stories in which the criminals were not punished by law could not be regarded as unusual because they were only reflecting some unfortunate truth.

One may also regard those stories of unpunished crimes as signs of defiance towards authority figures who were depicted in the role of failure. The "Hero" there was described as having done things which were unconventional, as having avoided responsibilities and obligations, and as having bypassed the situations in which he was expected to conform. All these were expressions of the need for autonomy according to Edward (1953). Thus the low production of such stories on the part of the Chinese subjects could be interpreted as an indication of their lower need for autonomy. That is, in fact, in agreement with the findings of a previous study (Hwang, 1967). Following the same reasoning, the more frequent occurrence of those themes in the Scottish stories suggest a greater need for autonomy. That is also an expected result.

6.3 NEEDS AND WISHES

Everyone has his likes, wishes and needs; the adolescents included in this study are no exception. Their wishes and needs, as indicated in their responses to several of the ISB items, have a very broad coverage. Like all young people, our subjects have needs and wishes related to happy family life, good interpersonal relationships, self improvement, material and emotional satisfactions. Distributions of their frequencies have been tabulated in the last chapter. Here some of the important group comparisons will be discussed.

Need for Activities

To the ISB item "I LIKE", both Scottish and Chinese pupils made a large number of responses which could be classified as "Activities". Indeed a great variety of activities, from rugby to story-reading, were named. While the two groups showed similar interest in sports, the Chinese youths had significantly greater interest than the Scottish pupils in solitary activities. This was due probably to the relative availability of the facilities in the two countries. As solitary activities usually require fewer facilities they are more suitable to the Chinese adolescents. Moreover, to be quiet and moderately active is often regarded as a sign of good self control which has been emphasised in Chinese moral teaching.

Need for Good Interpersonal Relationships

A great number of responses of the two groups to the item "I LIKE" were in the category "People, or Good Relations with People", indicating their great need for harmonious interpersonal relationships. The Scottish youngsters, as it was pointed out before, frankly admitted their interest in and need for people of the opposite sex whereas almost none of the Chinese adolescents showed such need. The latter group, instead, expressed significantly greater need than their Scottish friends for good relations with family members. These results are easy to understand. The growing interest towards heterosexual relations at the period of adolescence is a very natural phenomenon. The apparently low interest in the opposite sex on the part of the Chinese

youths is mainly a result of inhibition from the relatively conservative attitude of their community. On the other hand, the greater need for good relations with family members results from the traditional Chinese ways of child training which encourage prolonged dependence of children on their elders.

Child rearing in China has been studied by several investigators (Wolf, 1969; Tseng, 1972). The characteristics of the Chinese practice which have been discussed by psychologists and anthropologists are: general practice of breast feeding, great flexibility concerning the time of weaning, close physical contact of a child with the mother including sharing a bed with her until the birth of a younger sibling, little emphasis on toilet training and freedom from responsibility for his behaviour on the part of a child until the age of four or five, etc. All these have led to a mutual dependence between parents and the child according to Hsu (1955) and have delayed the development of independence of the child. Hence, at the stage of early adolescence, the Chinese pupils still feel it very natural to depend upon their parents and seek good relationships with them and with other members of the family. Among all human relationships, kinship is the most important one to the Chinese.

Closely related to the above-mentioned fact was the significantly greater need of the Chinese adolescents for "Help and Guidance" (Table 5-19a) which was mentioned by very few Scottish youths. That, again, is an indication of dependence. But it is also related to Humility which has been considered a virtue in traditional Chinese teachings.

Wishes Related to School Work

When there are other choices, one can correctly predict that few adolescents would "LIKE" school. The small number of responses related to school work from both Chinese and Scottish groups when they indicated their LIKES was a good proof of that (Table 5-18). The young Scots were very frank in expressing their ideas. Thirty-one of them said that they "wish that there will be no home work" or "...more holidays". There was, however, only one Chinese pupil who made the same response. This did not mean that Chinese youngsters

had no interest in holidays, but that the answer made by the Scottish pupils was not a socially desirable response in a Chinese society. The concept that "good students are supposed to like school and that only lazy ones would enjoy long holidays" probably prevented the Chinese young pupils from expressing their true feelings. Besides, they had other important wishes: "to pass the examination" and "to be admitted to a senior high school". These, again, indicated the great need for higher education on the part of the Chinese youths after their completion of the junior school training. This was why a considerable number of them felt that "Having got good marks in school" was their Happiest Time.

Need for Self Development and Improvement

Both Chinese and Scottish adolescents were interested very much in their own development and improvement, and such interest was well expressed in their responses to the ISB items "I NEED" and "I WISH". Here some group differences were noticed.

In regard to the aspects of self improvement, the Scottish subjects seemed to have given their attention to many different areas of development. Some expressed the wish to have better physical characteristics, others mentioned the need for improving their working habits, still others showed interest in correcting some of their minor personality weaknesses (e.g. "I need more courage"). In contrast, the Chinese pupils seemed to be preoccupied by one predominant wish: the improvement of knowledge and ability. Such group difference is, by and large, related to the difference in the school education of the two countries. In Scottish schools, there is a considerable flexibility of the Curriculum and children in a class are often divided into groups according to their abilities. There is a great variety of activities in which pupils can show their special skills to win the recognition of their classmates. That apparently has diverted their attention and interest in different directions.

On the other hand, the curriculum in a Chinese school is often more rigid, and an individual pupil has to compete with a fairly large group of classmates. Examinations usually cover nothing more than bookish knowledge and are often very difficult. Young people are

constantly under the pressure of getting high marks, the most common way to gain recognition. They are, from time to time, reminded of the teaching of a well known proverb: "Learning is like rowing upward on a stream; if you do not make progress, you will be going backwards". Hence the improvement of knowledge and ability should always be made the objective of everyone in school. Consequently, to express one's discontent with one's own knowledge or ability means the urge to learn more. Meanwhile, it is a sign of humility which is a good virtue. To a Chinese youth, improvement of knowledge and ability is, therefore, a real need as well as an expected wish.

Another group difference lies in the goals of self improvement. The Scottish youngsters showed great interest in having "Better skills in sports" or "Better physical characteristics" whereas the Chinese adolescents expressed strong wishes to become professional workers or "a useful person". One may try to explain the difference by the fact that "skills in sports" are better rewarded in Scotland than in Taiwan. Although people who are good in sports are generally admired by the Chinese, particularly by the young pupils, the extent of admiration is very limited in comparison with the kind of hero-worship a football player would receive in Scotland. The material reward for a successful athlete in Taiwan is not extraordinarily attractive either. In connection with that, people with good physical characteristics have not been given as much attention in Taiwan as they have in the West. It is true that part of the group difference in the goals of self improvement can be attributed to these facts.

However, what the author wants to point out is that the goals of the Scottish adolescents seem to be more realistic than those of the Chinese pupils. It is wonderful to become a professional worker (e.g. a doctor, an engineer, etc.) but that is a goal only a small percentage of people can reach. The majority of junior high school pupils have little opportunity to go into those professions in their future. However, the Chinese youngsters have not been made aware of that hard fact, and many have been blindly encouraged to aim at them. The idea that one should set a high goal for oneself is very prevalent in Chinese communities. Another very common characteristic of the wishes of the Chinese adolescents is its vagueness. Many of them wish to become "a useful person", a very broad and yet very indefinite category. It is not easy to know exactly what they have in mind; perhaps they really do not have any concrete idea in regard to their goals. "To become useful or a useful person" is what

teachers and parents frequently say to the youths, but quite often little further information is given. More discussion on this point will be given in the next section.

Need for Material Satisfaction

Material Satisfaction was another important need of the young people in the present study. A great variety of material objects were named by the Chinese and Scottish adolescents to indicate their needs, wishes and likes. Many of these items were of common interest to both groups while some were specially liked by one particular group. As a whole, the Scottish pupils showed greater need for material satisfaction than their Chinese counterparts. The discussions to follow will be focussed on the difference of their interest in two items, money and food.

When the two groups of adolescents were asked to rate the concept "WEALTH" on the semantic differential scales, they showed a remarkable resemblance in their attitudes. They agreed with one another that WEALTH was powerful and strong, but the Scottish youths gave higher ratings on both scales. At the same time, they both had the feeling that WEALTH was Bad, Ugly, Cold, Hostile and very much Complicated, and in almost all cases the Chinese showed a slightly less favourable attitude. The halo effect of the negative feelings of the Chinese made them insensitive to the Activity and Importance of WEALTH, for which the Scottish youngsters made low but positive ratings. In general, the young people seemed to have very good judgement concerning the "nature" (which was rated mainly negative) and the function of WEALTH.

But when they came to consider wealth or MONEY as an object in connection with their own needs there was a different picture. Among the Scottish adolescents, 57 of them indicated the need for money and 35 expressed the wish to have more of it. That sounded very natural because they might need money to buy or to do something. However, among the Chinese subjects, only 14 mentioned their need for money and just two had the wish to possess some money. Did that mean that the Chinese youth had actually little need for money or had their negative attitude on the semantic differential scales been carried over diminish-

ing their wish to have money? Neither seemed to be the truth. It was more likely that the Chinese subjects were just inhibited in expressing their wish for monetary objects.

Money was often referred to as "profit" in Confucian Classics where it was repeatedly evaluated against "righteousness". The Chinese saint made it clear that the difference between a CHUN-TZE, or a man of good virtue, and a MEAN PERSON was that the former cared more for righteousness whereas the latter was more concerned with gain (Confucian Analects, IV, 16). The Master praised highly the virtue of Yen Yuan, his favourite disciple, because the latter could enjoy his rather poor material life (Confucian Analects, VI, 9). Following this ideal, Mencius made good efforts, with little success however, to persuade some rulers of his time (372-289 B.C.) to govern their courts by the principle of righteousness instead of the principle of profit (The Work of Mencius, Book I, Part I, Ch.1-5). He also said: "When it appears proper to take a thing, and afterwards not proper, to take it is contrary to moderation" (The Work of Mencius, Book IV, Part 2, Ch.23)¹. When these ideas were so much emphasised in Confucian teachings, learned people in China were expected to show little interest in material profit. As a result, they gradually became less and less capable of making profit, and could only have a simple way of living. But they were given the highest social status and were regarded as men of good virtues. On the other hand, businessmen ranked the lowest in social status because they made profit-gaining their main objective. Thus, in traditional Chinese teachings, low interest in money was associated with good virtues and money was something towards which people tended to restrict themselves from showing interest. Even today, ordinary people who invest their money in buying stocks or deposit the money in private enterprise in order to make profit tend to keep the matter secret. There is nothing wrong with such behaviour both morally and legally, yet they do not want others to know their keen interest in money-making which sometimes may be interpreted as "greediness".

Generally Chinese parents would provide for their children everything they need, and may also allow the latter to have some pocket money for miscellaneous expenses. But to give children a fixed amount as a weekly or monthly allowance or to let them have their own

¹This is James Legge's translation. However, according to the present author the original passage means that "If it is proper both to take a thing and not to take it, then to take it is contrary to clean-handedness". It has often been referred to as the proper attitude towards monetary gains.

deposit is still not a very common practice. A child in China does not own any money independently, while at the same time he may not be in need of money. This may also account partly for the attitude of the Chinese youths towards money.

Need for Food

It seems safe to generalise that all children like food, be they Scottish or Chinese. However, the result of the present study indicated that there was a group difference in regard to the attitude towards food. There were significantly fewer Chinese subjects than Scottish youths who said that they "LIKED" food. Meanwhile, the Scots made more food responses to another ISB item "I NEED" than the Chinese with a difference approaching the 0.05 level of significance.

There was no substantial evidence to show that the Chinese adolescents had a weaker need for or lower interest in food. Their low frequency of food responses seemed to suggest either that they had a greater preference for something other than food, or that to like food was not a highly desirable response in Chinese culture. The latter seems to be the answer.

Like money, food is needed by everybody and is something essential for the preservation of one's life, but it is not put on the top of the list of human needs according to Chinese convention. Personal virtues are placed higher. The two brothers who starved themselves by refusing the food from the land of their "enemy" were admired by Confucius because they had acted virtuously (Confucian Analects, VII, 14). There are many such stories stressing the importance of virtues in comparison with food. The maxim which says that (mainly to women) "to starve to death is a trivial matter, but to lose one's purity is a serious matter" is a widely known one. In fact, this involves an important issue concerning the relative importance of physical needs and moral and virtuous needs. The present author is not prepared to discuss such a philosophical question here; all he wants to point out is that in Chinese traditional teachings physical needs or even physical life is not regarded as a matter of supreme importance.

When food taking is mainly for pleasure as in the case of having an ice cream cone or a piece of chocolate, it is really not a matter

of necessity. Chinese youngsters probably like food stuff just as much as do the Scottish youths; they may have spent a lot of their pocket money on sweets or cold drinks. But they would not express their liking for food very freely so that they would not be thought of as people who indulge in physical pleasure. Still less frequently would they call things like sweets a need, because there are a good many other things which are considered more desirable. These tendencies are clearly shown in the results of this study (Tables 5-18a, 5-19a).

We have been very careful to avoid a superficial interpretation that the fewer responses of the Chinese adolescents are indications of their lower interest in, or weaker need of, food than the Scottish subjects. But surely we have no evidence, either, to say that the Chinese are particularly self-indulgent with food. Several investigators have suggested that Chinese people have a personality pattern of oral character. La Barre (1946) made the observation that the Chinese had moralised the intake of food. Tseng (1972) felt that eating had been greatly emphasised in China where affection was very frequently represented by nothing but food, and he related this to the prolonged breast feeding of Chinese children. Nothing found in the present study tends to support those theories which would need more substantial evidence before they could be accepted.

6.4 FEARS AND WORRIES

While the term Fear denotes the emotional response to an immediate threatening object or situation, real or imagined, and the term Worry designates the emotional response to some distant, probable and sometimes vague object or condition, there is little distinction between the two when they are used in everyday language. What people refer to as their fears are often worries and anxieties, as the threatening objects are not present at the moment of their emotional reaction. Thus the two terms will be used interchangeably in the following paragraphs.

Fear of Injuries and Death

This was the most frequently mentioned fear of the Scottish people and also a very important worry of theirs (the third in the list of their reported worries). Those young people had a strong fear and worry that they might be injured or killed accidentally and they were also frequently concerned that such bad luck might fall on their parents and family members. In contrast, the Chinese adolescents had little fear or worry over such matters. These are, in a way, expected results. In an industrialised country, there is often a greater incidence of injuries and deaths in the factories or on the road. Since a great number of people are working in an industrial region and since nearly everyone owns a car, which is the most important means of transportation, accidents could happen to members of almost every family, and has become the greatest concern of the people. In a study of the worries of the young people in the United States, Angelino et al. (1956) also found that safety was the principal worry of their subjects. On the other hand, Taiwan is mainly an agricultural country and its growing industry is still far from being a match for that of Scotland. There, automobiles are still luxuries to most of the families. Although the incidence of road accidents has been increasing it has become a concern of the general population only in recent years. Hence young people in Taiwan have little anxiety about injury or death.

Similar group differences were found in the fear of fire which was mentioned by 17 Scottish pupils but not by a single Chinese youngster. This may have little to do with the relative incidence

of fire in the two countries, but may be more connected with the possible danger caused by fire. In Britain, where a great number of people live in big apartment houses, the danger of being trapped by fire is greater than in cases of small or one-floor houses which are more common in Taiwan. Moreover, there are more young victims than grown-ups among the fire casualties. Hence there is good reason for the Scottish youths to worry about fire, which is not a widespread fear of the adolescents in Taiwan.

It should also be pointed out that the fear of accidental injury or death and the fear of fire have one thing in common: they are both caused by some kind of real danger.

Fear of Unreal Dangers

Fear of Darkness is common among children. Though it often decreases with age, the findings in the present study suggest that it still exists among the youths of early adolescence. There were twenty-one Scottish youths and thirty-six Chinese pupils who voluntarily expressed their fear of darkness. Together that group constituted 6.3% of the entire sample, and the Chinese showed significantly greater fear of the dark.

It seems that darkness is something halfway between a real danger and an imagined one. A place in dark is generally not as safe as a lighted place, but there is no real danger in many dark places. As the degree of safety varies from case to case, it is difficult to generalise the justification of the fear of darkness. For instance, a man who lives in certain areas of New York may have good reason to stay away from darkness. Since Taipei is a place as safe as, if not safer than Glasgow, then the greater fear of darkness of the Chinese subjects apparently has nothing to do with the actual environment.

Fear of Nightmares. Even though we cannot say that fear of nightmares is something unique to the Chinese, the fact that there were twenty-four Chinese pupils and no Scottish subjects expressed such fear constituted a significant group difference. The limited information available does not allow an analytic interpretation of such phenomena.

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But it is generally agreed that nightmares are frequently caused by a tension state of the dreamers.

Fear of Ghosts or Spirits. Science today has neither proved nor disproved the existence of ghosts. Nevertheless, the fear of ghosts is still very common. Fifty-seven of the present sample of adolescents mentioned such fear and, among this group, the Chinese significantly outnumbered their Scottish friends (47 Chinese vs. 10 Scots).

Whiting and Child (1953) once pointed out that those societies which punished aggression most severely would project their anger into the supernatural world and believe in dangerous and malevolent beings. This could be a possible explanation of the greater fear of ghosts and spirits among the Chinese because the Chinese children in general experience a great deal of restriction in regard to the expression of their aggression. An equally acceptable hypothesis would be that ghosts were used as scapegoats to assume the responsibilities related to failure or other wrongdoing so that the people involved would not be blamed. In other words, the guilt feelings within have been externalised into the form of fear. When the punishment for aggression is severe, the function of such a defence is obvious.

There is a common characteristic of the above-mentioned fears: fear of darkness, fear of nightmares, and fear of ghosts - they are not reacting to a real danger. Darkness itself is not dangerous and neither are most of the places in dark. Nightmares are only created by the dreamers themselves. Ghost is something that has never been "seen" or "met" by human beings. Hence these fears are more related to the psychological condition of the individual involved than to the actual environment. In other words, the fears are reflecting the inner tension of someone rather than the external, objective danger. Such a tension state often distort's one's perception of the external world and makes it more threatening than it is.

The essential situation for the onset of fear, according to Krech et al. (1969), is the perception of a dangerous object or situation which threatens, and "the key fact in the situation seems to be lack of power or capacity to handle the threat" (p. 524). When the object of

fear is a real construction, the lack of power to handle it could be real or based on some realistic inference. If, when the threatening object itself is only vaguely in existence or does not exist at all, then the feeling of incapacity in handling the situation will be mainly subjective. In other words, the fear of those vaguely existing dangers is an indication of a lack of self-confidence which makes one underestimate one's own capacity for dealing with the environment. Of course the inner tension state of an individual and lack of self-confidence are often found side by side, and interact with one another.

The fact that the Chinese adolescents showed consistently greater fear of darkness, of nightmares and of ghosts could be regarded as reliable evidence that they were under greater tension than the Scottish youths and that they had lower self-confidence than the latter.

Worries over School Work

Hurlock once pointed out (1955) that, for junior school pupils, school work was the main cause of worry. In the list of fears produced by Angelina et al. (1956), school was also at the top. Similar results have been found in the present study. For the adolescents in Scotland, school work was their second most frequently-mentioned worry and their second greatest trouble though not very many of them named it as their fear. For the young pupils in Taiwan, school work was a far more serious problem. Their worry over school work was significantly greater than that of their Scottish friends. The Chinese pupils worried very much about their school life in general, had trouble with specific subjects and had great fear of examinations. No more explanation for this group difference is really needed here as this question has already been mentioned elsewhere in this thesis. Because almost all pupils of junior high schools in Taiwan are aiming at further education in a higher institution, they have to compete not only with their classmates but with all those of their age in other schools as well in seeking for an opportunity to enter a senior high school. Cramming, has, therefore, been introduced in all schools. The school often puts some additional pressure on the pupils because the result of the examination has some effect on the reputation of the school. Not rarely the expectation of parents who have no objective

understanding of the capacities of their children makes the situation still more difficult for the young people. It is perfectly understandable that the adolescents in Taiwan consider their school work their greatest fear and worry.

Worry over Personal Weakness

A considerable number of the adolescents in this study seemed to be dissatisfied with their own condition and expressed worries over their personal weakness. Nearly one-fourth of the Scottish pupils showed such responses and about one-third of them (30.02%) considered personal weakness as their Only Trouble. But, as one could predict, the Chinese subjects were significantly more concerned with their weakness. There were several factors which might have accounted for this fact. Firstly, it is a virtue in China to be humble and never to be proud of oneself or feel satisfied with one's achievements; secondly, Chinese teachers and parents, particularly the latter, tend to use more punishment than reward as a means to modify the behaviour of the young people with the concept that too much reward might spoil the latter. Consequently, a child is more frequently reminded of his weakness and rarely of his assets; thirdly, the heavy school work is far too difficult for children with average ability and brings more failure than success to the pupils, and that lowers their self-confidence.

Trouble with Forced Activities

One more item in which there were significant group differences was Forced Activities in school situations (Subcategory 55, Table 5-14a). Twenty-two of the Scottish youths showed negative feelings towards forced activities (e.g. to come to school at certain hours in the morning, to sit exams.), while only one Chinese subject made similar responses. It was clear that the negative feelings of the Scots were not really directed towards those activities per se but towards the authorities behind them. With a strong need for independence and self reliance, adolescents in a Western society tend to show an attitude of defiance towards the regulations or rules set by authorities. The Chinese pupils, on the other hand, seem to accept the

do's and don'ts in schools more easily. They show a greater tendency to follow instructions of the teachers and to do what is expected. They seem to have more understanding of the function of the rules in schools and so do not have many negative feelings. These characteristics are closely related to the need for Deference in which Chinese subjects, as found by Hwang (1967), have higher scores than the Westerners.

6.5 ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE FUTURE

To all young people, the future is of supreme importance and so is their perception of it. In this research, the attitudes of our subjects towards the FUTURE were studied by both the semantic differential technique and the incomplete sentence method. The results of the two instruments were, in general, complementary.

On the semantic differential scales, nearly all the ratings of the concept of the FUTURE were above the neutral point except that on the Simple-Complicated Scale where the pupils of both countries showed the feeling that the future was rather complicated. Both Chinese and Scottish youths had very similar attitudes in regard to the Importance of the Future; it was on this scale that they made their highest rating and the median scale values of the two groups were virtually the same. On the majority of the remaining scales, the Chinese adolescents made higher ratings than the Scottish youngsters, indicating that the former group had more favourable feelings towards the Future.

These results could be connected with one of the findings in the TAT stories. As it was mentioned before (p.114), the emotional tone and the outcomes of the stories produced by the two groups for the TAT Card 12BG were evaluated on a 5-point scale as suggested by Eron. Since the construction of that particular picture is very simple and with no presence of human figures, it gave the subjects a great degree of freedom to compose their stories. It was felt that the Outcome of those stories in relation to their Emotional Tone seemed to be a good indication of the perceived future of the young writers. It was found that the mean value of the Emotional Tone of the Scottish stories for TAT 12BG was 2.23, and that of the Outcome 2.79, while those mean values of the Chinese stories were 2.68 and 3.30 respectively. In both cases, the Outcome was brighter or happier than the Emotional Tone of the main themes of the stories. In other words, both Scottish and Chinese junior writers depicted a bright future in their stories. This coincided well with their positive ratings of the Future on the Semantic Differential scales. The greater mean value of the Outcome of the Chinese stories was also in agreement with the generally more favourable semantic differential ratings of the Chinese subjects.

The findings from the responses of the subjects to the ISB item

THE FUTURE were mainly the same as those of the abovementioned two instruments. The frequency of the responses with Positive Feelings were the highest for both groups. Though the Scottish pupils made a greater number of positive responses than the Chinese youths, the difference did not reach the level of significance. In the category of responses with Negative Feelings, the Scottish adolescents had significantly fewer responses (Table 5-17). However, one should notice that a considerable number of the Chinese responses were in the Subcategory 23, "The future is far away". Those responses could actually be considered "neutral"; they were classified as "negative" only because there seemed to be a lack of positive or active attitudes. When one said that "The future is far away", one might mean that "so there is nothing I can do about it", or "so that I do not have to do anything", or "so I do not have to worry about it". In any of these cases, there was no real negative evaluation of the Future, but it suggested a passive attitude concerning the subject's way of dealing with his future.

Another interesting point was the group differences in the responses in two other categories. There were significantly more Scottish subjects who felt that "the Future is dark, insecure" (subcategory 22), whereas there were more Chinese who mentioned that "The Future is something that I am not sure how to deal with" (Subcategory 29). Both were negatively toned responses. However, those in the former category were critical statements referring to some negative characteristics of the Future while those in the second category were talking about incapacity in dealing with the Future. In other words, the Scots were making criticisms about the Future, but the Chinese were referring to their own weakness. These results are congruent with the findings of a previous study of the present author (Hwang, 1968). He used the Picture-Frustration Study of Rosenzweig to study Chinese university students and found that their reactions were quite different from the norms of the American subjects established by Rosenzweig. The Chinese subjects were far more 'intropunitive' and significantly less 'extrapunitive' when they were confronted with frustrating situations. Hwang went on to explain that such a tendency to intro-punitiveness on the part of the Chinese subjects has its roots in Chinese culture. For centuries, Chinese people have been taught to restrain themselves from blaming others. As Mencius once said: "The superman (or CHUN TZE) does not murmur against Heaven, nor grudge

against men" (The Work of Mencius, Book II, Part 2, Ch.13). Thus when something does not turn out as expected, one should turn inwards to examine oneself. With such an attitude, the Chinese subjects would not say much against the Future, but would tend to suspect their own adequacy in coping with it. The Scottish adolescents, on the other hand, would act more similarly to the American norms, that is, more extrapunitively. Hence they tended to blame the Future. This cultural difference could also have accounted for the generally more favourable attitude of the Chinese towards the Future.

Difference in Future Plans

In their responses to the Incomplete Sentence Blank, some of the young people mentioned their plans for the future. It has been noticed that there is a significant group difference in regard to the nature of the plans. The Scottish adolescents made more responses which indicated their interest "to get married" or "to learn a particular occupation" in the future. Those were, in general, practical and concrete plans. On the other hand, the Chinese pupils had nearly all their responses in another subcategory: "To make good use of the future". That sounded just as good; but the indefiniteness or vagueness of such kinds of plan was very obvious.

Similar group differences were also found in the responses to another ISB item - "The Kind of Person I would like to be...". A great many of the responses were related to self development. Here the Scottish pupils made more responses which indicated their wish to become a person "with fine qualities of personality" (e.g. "a kind person") or an individual "with good physical characteristics". In contrast, the Chinese pupils expressed in most of the cases the wish "to become a useful person". Among the responses related to Success and Achievement, the Scottish youths showed more frequently the wish "to become a glamorous figure" (such as an actress or a footballer, etc.) while the Chinese adolescents showed greater preference in becoming "a scholar" or "to be a great or remarkable person" (Table 5-21a).

Again, the Scots tended to have some clear and definite ideas in regard to the kind of person they would like to be in the future. They were aiming at some practical goals, not necessarily on the highest level of society. The Chinese youngsters, on the other hand, showed a

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tendency to have broad, but indefinite goals. They wanted to become useful, but did not seem to have any knowledge concerning the kind of job in which they could be 'used' to the utmost extent. They all aimed at high but unrealistic goals; everyone wanted to become "a great man" with little interest in being an ordinary person.

Such differences have, of course, nothing to do with the inborn characteristics of the two groups of adolescents. Young people learn from their elders, their societies the way of perceiving the future and of making plans for their own future. The subjects of the present study may be still a little too young to determine exactly what kind of job they are going to take in the future, but they should be given information and guidance in regard to the possibilities that are lying in front of them. They should be helped to understand their interest and capacities as well as the chance of getting into certain professions. They should be supervised in making a realistic evaluation of themselves and a workable plan of developing their potentialities to the fullest extent. These are the objectives of vocational guidance which has become an important part of secondary school education in the modern age. Apparently such guidance programmes in Scottish schools have been carried out with some success and the pupils have learned to take a practical view about the future. The fact that a great variety of jobs has been made attractive to the young people is a big asset of the Scottish community. In Chinese schools, vocational guidance is just at its start; parents and teachers are still not well acquainted with the basic principle of such programmes. Most of the young adolescents are directed to one narrow road leading to higher education with a vague objective of becoming a great man in the future. They will have to struggle semi-blindly for some time to find their way towards development.

Most of the results obtained in this study have been discussed in the last chapter. There are some overlaps because many of those findings are interrelated. For example, the attitudes towards school and the fear of examinations are actually two aspects of the same matter. On the other hand, some of the results are left undiscussed owing to the limited space of this paper. To conclude, all the important findings will be considered in summarised form in the following paragraphs in order to draw an overall picture of the two groups of young people.

7.1 SIMILARITIES OF THE TWO GROUPS

A number of cross cultural studies tend to focus the attention on the differences between the cultures involved and do not give equal emphasis to their existing similarities. The present author, too, did not think too much about the possible similarities between the Chinese and the Scottish adolescents when he started this study. But as he proceeded in his work he found that, along with the differences between the two groups of young people, there were similarities as well and, indeed, very interesting ones. As a scientist, he has presented both these findings with equal care and objectivity. As an educator, however, he feels that the similarities between the two countries may have greater significance than their differences because the former may help to draw the two peoples closer to one another. Should we all realise that those who live in other parts of the world are sharing with us many of our attitudes, likes and dislikes, fears and worries, we may accept one another more readily rather than build up barriers with preconceived ideas. To follow are some of the similarities between the Scottish adolescents and the Chinese young pupils that have been found in this study.

A. Positive Feelings towards People, the World and the Future

It is found that both the Chinese and the Scottish adolescents have mainly positive feelings towards people in general, towards the

world, and towards the future. On the Semantic Differential scales, there were, as a whole, more positive ratings than negative ones. Among the responses to the items of the Incomplete Sentence Blank (ISB), the number of those with negative feelings was always small and, in some cases, actually negligible. It seemed that the young people of the two countries were more ready to perceive the good virtues rather than the weaknesses of a person, to see the pleasant qualities rather than the ugly ones of an object, and to visualise the bright side rather than the darkness of the world.

These are learned attitudes and they indicate that our young people have learned through their experiences, particularly the experiences of early childhood, that people are generally kind and friendly and that the outside world is, by and large, beautiful and pleasant. Thus it suggests that both the Scottish and the Chinese youths have been brought up in families where they have been given love and good care, and they have been made to feel that the world is warm and secure. The home conditions and the ways of child training in Scotland are quite different from those in Taiwan. There are many differences between the two countries in regard to matters such as the amount of breast feeding, the rigidity or flexibility of feeding schedules, the strictness of toilet training, etc. However, it is evident that, in both cultures, the parents can make their children happy and feel loved; harmonious basic object relations can be developed in both an apartment house in Glasgow and in a wooden bungalow in Taipei. When the basic needs, emotional as well as physical, are met children will grow up with positive feelings towards people in general and towards the world. Their happy experiences in childhood will also become the base for the development, through generalisation along the time dimension, of positive attitudes towards the future.

Direct experiences are not the only source of information based on which people form their attitudes; they also learn a great deal through indirect experiences. The information which has been passed to them by their parents, teachers, from story books, comics, movies, television, etc. plays a very important part in the formation of their attitudes. Apparently, the images of people in general and of the world that have been presented by adults or reflected by the mass

media in both Scotland and Taiwan are generally positive and with good qualities, and they have helped to develop among the young adolescents positive attitudes towards people and towards the world.

One more factor that often affects people's attitudes towards others is their attitude towards themselves. Those who have good feelings towards themselves tend to have positive feelings towards others because they often project their own inner feelings on to others around them. Meanwhile when they themselves feel confident and secure, they would have a greater tolerance towards the behaviour of others, and consequently the latter would become more acceptable to them. Thus the positive attitudes towards people and towards the world of our young subjects are an indication of their own positive and healthy self-images.

B. Similarities in Perception

Although the two groups of adolescents have been brought up in two different cultures with thousands of miles between one another, there are similarities in their perception, or rather apperception, a term which has been dropped from the literature of psychology in recent years. With the TAT Cards used in this study, they tended to see similar things and to identify similar interpersonal relationships. In over two-thirds of the stories produced by each group of subjects for TAT 6BM, a mother-son relationship was perceived and identical emotional reactions were depicted between the two characters in the picture. Likewise, the similarities in their themes for TAT Card 14 were striking: the two groups of pupils did not only make "Stealing" their most frequent theme, but also produced nearly the same number of such stories. Moreover, "Suicide" was the second most frequent theme for both groups and, curiously enough, the occurrence of suicidal stories was again nearly identical for the two groups. The same thing was found among the stories for TAT Card 8BM: both groups had "Operation" as their most frequent theme and "Violence" as the next, though their relative frequencies did not match so perfectly as those in the stories for Card 14.

While it is often not easy to determine the factors of cultural difference, it is probably more difficult to identify exactly what has brought about similar perception in two culturally different groups.

At the beginning of this study, this author had some difficulty in

deciding if a different set of TAT cards should be developed for the subjects in Taiwan. After a careful consideration, he decided that selections from Murray's original TAT should be used for both Scottish and Chinese subjects in order to make the comparison less complicated. The results seem to have proved that the decision was an appropriate one. The Western style costumes in Card 6BM apparently caused little difficulty to the Chinese youths in perceiving the mother-child relationship, neither did the Western clothing of the young man in the foreground of Card 8BM create any problem for them. Hence we can say with considerable confidence that, so far as the present set of four TAT cards is concerned, the cultural elements existing in the pictures have no ill effects on the results of the study.

To make a story for a picture is a highly complicated psychological function involving processes such as sensation (the psychophysical reaction to the stimuli), perception (organising and giving meaning to the external stimuli), and apperception (making a more or less complete theme based on the existing stimuli plus the imagined past and future of the story.). The last process consists of functions of recognition, projection, empathy, intellectual reasoning, etc. Hence to produce similar stories by two groups of subjects really suggests the existence of similarities between them in all these functions, a fact we have often taken for granted. We shall not go into these in detail but merely point out that such similarity is not a simple phenomenon.

In simple language, we may say that common experience is a prerequisite for different peoples to make similar stories. The mother-child relationship, for instance, is universally the most important primary interpersonal relationship, though there are a great variety of ways of child rearing (Whiting, 1963). It is, therefore, reasonably easy for people from any culture to perceive such a relationship when an older woman is seen with a younger man. Stealing occurs apparently more frequently than Suicide in both East and West, so is surgical operation in comparison with violence. The relative frequencies of these events seem to have some connection with their relative occurrence in the stories of the adolescents. But we should not get the impression that, because of the similar number of suicidal stories of the two groups of adolescents, the actual incidence of suicide would also be

the same in the two countries. There is no direct connection between the two sets of figures. According to Gibbs (1968), the rate of suicide in Taiwan (1.0 per 100,000 in 1952 and 1.8 in 1962) is much lower than that in Scotland (5.5 per 100,000 in 1952 and 8.5 in 1962).

C. Similarities in Semantic Differential Ratings

As was mentioned before, among the sixty-nine semantic differential ratings a significant difference was found between the two groups of adolescents in a majority of them. However, in sixteen of these cases, there was no significant difference between the distribution of the ratings of the two groups as calculated by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov Two Sample Method (Guilford, 1956), and in nearly half of the cases (34 out of a total of 69), the numerical difference between the median scores was smaller than .05. Those results indicate that the two groups of pupils had considerably similar opinions in regard to some aspects of the seven concepts they rated. The closeness of the two sets of ratings on FAMILY, WEALTH, and PEOPLE IN GENERAL was particularly striking.

The graphical presentations of those ratings were even more impressive. In addition to the closeness of the individual pairs of ratings, the nearly identical pattern of the semantic ratings were also shown by the parallelism of the two graphs. It indicated that the two groups were using those scales in the same manner when they rated each of those concepts. In other words, although the exact ratings of the two groups of any one concept might be different, the relative position of a concept on the whole set of scales tended to be similar.

The graphs are actually showing two phenomena at the same time; (a) the two groups had fairly similar attitudes towards those concepts with a general tendency among the Chinese subjects to give comparatively higher ratings. This has been discussed in the last chapter. (b) the two languages, English and Chinese, have similar semantic structures. This fact was clearly indicated by the high correlations between the corresponding semantic factor loadings derived from the two sets of ratings (Table 5-9). This second point is congruent with the hypo-

thesis of cross cultural generality of semantic structures suggested by Osgood ((1962, 1964).

D. Similarity in Cooperativeness during Testing

One last point, but certainly not the least significant point, concerning the similarity between the Chinese and the Scottish subjects, is their cooperativeness during the period of testing. A majority of those adolescents showed great interest in the tests and felt that those instruments were interesting and were useful in promoting their self-understanding. They were very cooperative in following the instructions and took the tests with a rather serious attitude. The fact that about three quarters of the entire sample showed definitely positive feelings towards THE TEST on the Incomplete Sentence Blank was a very important response because it was only when the subjects liked the tests that they would express their genuine ideas and attitudes.

There was a good consistency in the attitudes of the subjects expressed in two different items of one test (e.g. fear of examinations appeared in responses to both ISB items "AT SCHOOL" and "MY GREATEST FEAR") or in two equivalent items of two tests (e.g. the attitude towards the future in both the Semantic Differential and the ISB). Such consistency was an excellent indication of the reliability of the test results and also the cooperativeness of the subjects; they were really expressing their true feelings.

The tests were administered by the author and with the exception of one occasion only, there was no presence of a teacher from the schools. Everything was carried out according to the standard procedure without any difficulty. It was evident that both Chinese and Scottish young pupils had the capacity to adjust themselves to a testing situation and the willingness to restrict themselves for a period of eighty minutes to meet the demands of an authority when there was a good reason for it. The author was really impressed by the cooperative responses of those young people.

When two nations are thousands of miles away from one another, differences between the attitudes of their peoples are expected. The findings of the present study in regard to the differences of the attitudes between the Scottish adolescents and the Chinese youths have been presented and discussed separately. It seems that most of these differences are either related to, or can be categorised into, the following three major headings.

A. Whole versus Part Perception

Among the stories made for the TAT Card 12BG, one group difference was related to the Boat in that picture. A majority of the Scottish youngsters included the boat in their stories and many even made it the central object in the narrations. In contrast, more than one third of the Chinese subjects ignored the boat completely and another third simply mentioned its existence with no intention to utilise it in any manner (see Table 5-40). While many young Scots saw the bad shape of the boat and tended to make some effort to have it fixed or repaired in their stories, the Chinese pupils seemed to pay more attention to the general impression of the whole picture and dreamed about the prosperity of the whole area in the future. Overcoming difficulty was the theme of many Scottish stories in which specific problems were mentioned (frequently related to the boat). On the other hand, the Chinese authors made more stories about "Season Changes" and "Aesthetic Appreciation" which covered the whole content of the picture.

This very obvious contrast suggests a group difference between the Scots and the Chinese in their tendency to perceive Whole or Parts of external stimuli. Several previous investigators noticed this fact. Abel' and Hsu (1949), in their studies of Chinese subjects in New York with the Rorschach Test, found that there was a greater W% in the Chinese protocols than the American norms, particularly among the China-born subjects. They related the result to an analysis of the visual perception of the Chinese by Hellersberg who remarked that "unlimited visual space seems to attract the Chinese imagination, with no bounds to the right or left. Large wholes do not disturb their

feelings" (Abel and Hsu, 1949, p.287). However, this point was not mentioned in another study of Chinese adolescents in Hawaii with Rorschach by Hsu et al. (1961).

Abbott (1971) seemed to have special interest in this Global Perception of the Chinese and tried to relate the perception of wholes to use of rote-memory in learning. He went on to interpret the result of a study by Goodnow (1961) who found that Chinese subjects in Hong Kong were superior in Digit Span and Block Design and had more trouble with Object Assembly and Picture Arrangement in a Chinese adaptation of the Wechsler-Bellevue Scale. Moreover, Abbott wanted to attribute the low scores of his Chinese subjects on the Intellectual Efficiency (IE) Scale of the California Psychological Inventory (CPI)¹ to their "Total Gestalt Perception". Still a step further, Abbott suggested that the low scores of the Chinese on two other CPI scales, Tolerance (To) and Flexibility (Fx) might also "reflect this Chinese proclivity to perceive and to conceptualise in wholes; it may also reflect difficulty in interchanging or manipulating components of knowledge or social situations when individuals perceive phenomena as wholes. It may be much more difficult to change one whole for another than to change parts of a model... Hence there is a tendency to reject the unknown (low To) and to stay carefully within the known (low Fx)" (Abbott, 1971, p.205-206).

While Abbott's explanation of the scores of his Chinese subjects on those CPI scales may need the support of more evidence, the fact that the Chinese seem to have a greater tendency to perceive wholes rather than parts seems to be a well-established one. Indeed there are many things in Chinese culture which seem to have helped the development of such a tendency in the perception of Chinese subjects.

The main factor that may have an important impact on the Whole perception of Chinese is the traditional family structure in China. A Chinese child is constantly reminded that he is not an isolated person, but a member of a certain family. He is horizontally closely affiliated not only with the members of his immediate family, but also with other uncles, aunts, cousins who are just remotely related by bearing the

¹The California Psychological Inventory was translated by Eberhard and Abbott into Chinese with the assistance of the present author. It was used by Abbott in a research on Chinese Family Life in Taipei. The results were interpreted against the American norms as no Chinese norms were available.

same family name. Longitudinally, he is a continuation of a family chain, carrying the blood of the ancestors to the next generations. He is encouraged to work hard, to perform good deeds, to reach a goal of fame and prosperity not just for his own achievement but also, perhaps more importantly, for glorifying his parents and ancestors. Evil behaviour and failure are to be avoided so that the family name as well as his own will not be damaged. Hsu (1955) pointed out that the Chinese always share life's ups and downs with their family; but Hsu was probably wrong when he thought that to a Chinese, "in triumph, his glory is toned down because he is not enjoying it alone, just as in disaster, his misery is not so unbearable because it is mitigated by division" (p.61). In fact the opposite is closer to the fact; a personal success is often a greater joy to a Chinese than to a Westerner because to the former the glory is always amplified when it is celebrated by his family or even by the entire membership of his clan. On the other hand, a personal failure is often a heavier blow to a Chinese than to a person in the West as he has at the same time to bear the guilt of having disgraced his family name.

In China where the teachings of Confucius have been the main life philosophy, the harmony of interpersonal relationships has been regarded as more important than the individual. The central theme of Confucianism is JEN, or kindheartedness or benevolence¹ which is the supreme principle in dealing with other people. The Master once said: "A youth, when at home, should be filial, and abroad, respectful to his elders (T'1). He should be earnest and truthful. He should overflow in love to all, and cultivate the friendship of the good", and it is only after the performance of these things that he should learn the classics"(Confucian Analects, I, 6). Thus it is clear that to deal with people in the proper manner comes before everything. To Confucius, one should "subdue oneself and return to propriety" (Confucian Analects, XII, 1.). In other words, one should do what is proper in the frame of the total situation and restrain oneself from self-indulgence in all circumstances. This does not mean that self-development is ignored in Confucianism; on the

¹There is no exact equivalent of JEN in English. Abbott felt that "it is perhaps best expressed in Western thought as "agape" or unselfish love for one's fellow men" (Abbott, 1971, p.57). James Legge used the term "true virtue" when he translated the Confucian Classics into English as JEN is the basis of all virtues proclaimed by Confucius. Chai (1959) seems to have the same opinion when he said that "The idea of JEN may be expressed in the conception of HSIAO or filial piety, and "T'1" or "fraternal Love".

contrary, it is regarded as very essential. It is seen as the fundamental step of the whole process toward the harmony of the whole of mankind. In the Book of Great Learning¹, the whole process has been clearly stated: "Cultivation of self, the regulation of one's family, the governing of the state, and the peace of the whole kingdom." Thus self-development itself is not the final goal, but the means to a greater, broader and higher objective.

Many of the Chinese traditional ideas will become more meaningful when they are seen under this light. Until very recently, the wedding of a young man was often regarded as taking a daughter-in-law for his family; the birth of a child was celebrated because the blood of a family would be continuously in existence; the tomb-site of a deceased person should be carefully selected to ensure the prosperity of his offspring. All these seem to stem from the concept that everything related to an individual should be looked at from a broad frame of reference, either horizontally or longitudinally, or both. The emphasis of the ordinal position of an individual in a Chinese family which has been discussed in the last chapter is another example.

The Chinese Names

The emphasis of one's membership of a larger unit than himself can also be seen in the name of a Chinese person. Of the three characters which usually make a Chinese name, it is the one that designates the family which comes first, in the reverse order according to the Western custom. The second (or sometimes the third) character is frequently there to indicate one's generation order in the family and is shared by all cousins (the sons, and occasionally daughters too, of the brothers and cousins of one's father) of the same generation. The remaining character will be the personal identification of the individual. In the case of a two-character name, it is a general practice that all the cousins of a family have a common "radical" (such as Wood, Metal, Water, Horse, etc.) in the second character of their names. In a sense, one can often tell to which big family and

¹The Great Learning, together with The Doctrine of the Mean, Confucian Analects, and The Work of Mencius are generally known as the Four Books which contain the main teaching of Confucius. They are translated into English by James Legge.

generation an individual belongs simply from his name. It is even easier when the person has his native town indicated in his name card which is a widely adopted custom. Hence, in China, the name of an individual is more than just a personal identification. The fact that the family name rather than the given name is placed first is also a significant phenomenon. Latourette (1965) thinks that it may indicate the manner in which, in the old China, the family was exalted, in contrast with the individualism of the Occident. It is, therefore, not surprising that Chinese people often address one another by surname (except between intimate friends or among family members) while the first name is much more frequently used in the West.

The Form of Chinese Characters

The form or structure of the characters of Chinese language may also have some influence on the "Global Perception" of the Chinese. Different from the alphabetic languages, the Chinese language uses independent characters. Each character is a unit with an integral form. Not all Chinese characters were developed at the same time nor by the same principle. Some of them actually started with conventional pictures of objects and have become the present shape after gradual modifications through years. Some were developed with attempts to put ideas into picture forms (e.g. 上 for up or above and 下 for down or below). It is easy to understand that in these cases the entire structure or form of the characters is of vital importance. When a child learns a Chinese character, he has to learn its total form or the gestalt, its meaning and its pronunciation. In the old days, the way to assess the academic achievement of a child was to find out how many characters he had learned.

It is true that some Chinese characters consist of two parts: the radical which often has some connection with the meaning of the character and the phonetic, which indicates the sound. But to have learned the parts does not necessarily indicate that the character, either its pronunciation or its meaning, is learned. Very often, the form of a radical has to be modified in order to fit the total form of the character. For instance, the character "心" (which means heart or mind) is a radical of many other characters; but in a great

number of cases, its form is changed to "𠂇" to produce a better gestalt of the resultant character. In many such cases, the change is so great that the original form is completely gone so that it is no longer possible to trace the meaning from the radical alone. Likewise, the phonetic is not always a reliable source for the pronunciation of the character. In other words, to identify the meaning or the pronunciation of a character from its parts can be very misleading. The sure way of learning a Chinese character is, therefore, to study the total form of it, and that is exactly what a Chinese child is taught to do. Usually a child can learn about 3,000 of them in the course of his elementary school years. After such long years of training in learning the total form of Chinese characters and with continuous use of them throughout his life, it is little wonder that a Chinese subject would develop the tendency to perceive external stimuli in wholes.

The Global View

The concept of wholeness has been very much emphasised in traditional Chinese philosophy. In a way, the universe was seen as a totality and all events were in one way or another interrelated. In the old days, natural disasters or cosmic phenomena (e.g. an eclipse of the sun or moon) were generally interpreted as the warning or punishment from Heaven for the unethical behaviour of people. Good fortune as well as bad luck was not seen as an independent event, but was regarded as a continuation of previous events. The success of a scholar in the imperial examination was not infrequently interpreted as a heavenly reward for his good conduct or filial piety towards his parents. On the other hand, accidents or sickness were often seen as punishments or repayments of one's evil behaviour. Moreover, such phenomena of reciprocation might pass across the boundary of generations so that one might enjoy the fruit of the good conduct of one's ancestors or suffer from the pain rooted in the unethical behaviour of the ancestors. This traditional concept has for over two thousand years led Chinese people to see that things are related to one another and together they form a totality. Many parents today still pass this idea to their children, and the concept "good deeds will eventually be rewarded" is a

very common belief, particularly in rural communities. The function of this concept in maintaining the ethical standards of the society is very obvious. In the meantime, it has formed among the Chinese people a global view in seeing the world around them.

B. The General, Abstract Approach versus the Specific, Concrete Approach

The two groups of young people also showed significant differences in their objectives and life goals. The Chinese subjects tended to have a more general, undifferentiated objective, aiming at an ideal but distant goal with the yearning for some abstract satisfactions. On the other hand, the Scottish youths seemed to have a more specific, definite objective, aiming at a practical and concrete goal, with the need for material satisfactions.

Evidence of such differences have been noticed in many places. For instance, the Chinese pupils mentioned very frequently that they wanted to become useful persons to the community and wished to become great and remarkable. But the majority of them did not name any specific job or career that they intended to pursue. They showed little interest in money and food, but stressed the need for help and guidance. On the other hand, the Scottish adolescents seemed to have more definite ideas concerning their objectives, and often mentioned specific jobs that they wanted to obtain. They openly expressed their material needs including the need for money and food. Both groups are marching forward: the Scots seem to have a clearly defined destination of their journey whereas the Chinese have only some vague idea concerning where they are going or the time when they will reach their goal.

One can trace the general, abstract approach of the Chinese to the Oriental traditional culture which has stressed the importance of good virtues instead of material life, and can attribute the specific, practical approach of the Scots to the materialism of the industrialised Western societies. Cultural impacts, mainly through the educational systems and practices, have developed among the youths their attitudes towards life goals.

Until very recently, education in Taiwan had a very general objective. The programmes in secondary schools were arranged simply

to prepare the pupils for further education in higher institutions, with little connection to the practical life situation. Young people were encouraged to become useful persons to the community, but they were given no systematic information concerning the possible opportunities of becoming useful. Since 1968, when the public education was extended from six to nine years, the concept of vocational guidance has been introduced into Chinese secondary schools. The curriculum has been changed and efforts have been made to guide every individual youth to enter a career which is most suited to his potential. But it will take some time to make noticeable achievement in such a programme, and it may take even longer to develop the new orientation of the people in the community. Thus young people in Taiwan today are still aiming at "higher education" with no clear idea where they will be led by it.

The Scottish pupils are more fortunate in this aspect. Although the idea of "Vocational Impulse" recommended by the Brunton Report does not have a long history, the work of the Youth Employment Service has been quite successful in developing among the public a practical concept of career and employment. Information about a job and the way of preparing oneself for it has been made available to pupils in secondary schools. Beginning at the second year, each pupil will be given supervision in choosing his course of study, in exploring his interest and capacity, and finally in making a realistic plan for his future career (Hunter 1972). As a result, young people in secondary schools have some practical orientation towards their future objectives. Of course, the general concept of self-independence in the Western culture also has its contribution to the formation of such an orientation.

C. Self-restriction and Dependence versus

Individual Freedom and Independence

Another important difference between the two groups of adolescents seems to be on the dimension of Individual Freedom and Independence versus Self-Restriction and Total Harmony. Ample evidence has been found in this study to indicate the existence of such cultural difference.

First, such difference was noticed in the TAT stories. The independence of an individual was greatly emphasised in the stories written by the Scottish pupils. When a son was in conflict with his mother and failed to restore a harmonious relationship with her, he

simply left home and allowed himself complete freedom. In contrast, the son in Chinese stories often chose to stay at home to accompany his mother, sacrificing his own independence to keep the family from breaking up.

In the stories with the theme of criminal activities, there was also a significant difference between the two groups in regard to the treatment of the criminal. The Chinese writers tended to demand a reform of the law offender or had him punished by imprisonment. The Scottish writers, on the other hand, tended to permit the criminal to indulge in his unlawful activity or to escape without being punished. Freedom and independence were given greater value by the Scottish adolescents than the justice of law.

Similar group differences could be traced among the responses to several items of the Incomplete Sentence Blank. The Scottish pupils showed strong negative feelings towards Forced Activities which, in most cases, were nothing more than school routines. They did not like those activities mainly because they were directed by some authoritarian figures under such situations and they were not doing something by their will. The Chinese pupils, on the contrary, tended to accept rules and regulations with little objection. They often paid a great deal of attention to obligations or what ought to be done. When the Chinese youths were asked to complete the sentences with BOYS, A MOTHER, or PEOPLE as the items, a considerable number of their responses were in a pattern such as "Boys (or A Mother, People) ought to....". The obligations that had been mentioned were usually something in connection with the welfare of another individual (e.g. "A Mother ought to take good care of her children") or related to the public (e.g. "People should serve the community with enthusiasm"). In other words, one's own freedom or convenience was giving way to the welfare of other people or of the community.

One would normally expect a negative correlation between the attitude towards independence and that towards authority. That was proved in the present study. The Scottish young people showed definitely less favourable attitudes towards their teachers and frankly admitted that they had trouble with the latter. The responses involving Hygienic Needs (e.g. sleep, toilet, etc.) were actually

expressions of antagonistic feelings towards the testing. (The response "I need a good sleep now" really meant "I am not interested in the testing"). The Chinese pupils rarely made such kinds of responses.

All these results are congruent with each other, and together they indicate that the Scottish youths give greater emphasis to independence and individual freedom with little concern for the social order and respect for authority, whereas the Chinese pupils tend to pay more attention to self control and discipline, with greater preference for the regularity and order of society. These are not at all surprising. The attitudes of the Scottish adolescents are really in line with the ideals of the present day Western civilisation in which democracy and individualism have been greatly stressed. Inkeles (1961) in an attempt to formulate the values and attitudes which are important to the maintenance of a democratic society mentioned the following four points:

(a) Democratic societies require widespread belief in the inalienable right of the person and the belief that the individual should be regarded as possessing intrinsic worth or dignity.

(b) Equal opportunities of development should be provided for the realisation of individual talent and capacity. There should be a basic acceptance of other people, and a belief that a man shall be led to do what is just and good by following his own interest rightly understood.

(c) A stress on personal autonomy and a certain distance from powerful authority and intelligent distrust of leadership plus an emphasis upon critical method in every phase of social life.

(d) A stress on the importance of openness, ready acceptance of differences, and willingness to compromise and change.

When these attitudes and values are made the guiding principles of social, educational, and political developments in a society, there is little doubt that the young people in the society will develop the kind of attitudes that have been found among the Scots in the present study.

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The findings among the Chinese youths are also expected. The traditional Chinese teachings have been mentioned in many places in this paper. All that has to be added here is what Arthur Wright (1964) has said about Confucianism:

"Proper self-cultivation developed humaneness or love (JEN); it gave man an almost mystical empathy for his fellow men, and an acute sensitivity to all the delicately balanced forces at work in the universe. Such a man, or one approaching him in attainments, might then 'govern the state and pacify the world'" (p.vii-viii). The essence of self-cultivation really means self-control which has been well expressed in a passage from the Analects:

"Confucius said: 'There are nine things of which Great Men must be mindful: to see clearly when he looks, to hear distinctly when he listens, to have a facial expression of gentleness, to have an attitude of humility, to be sincere in speech, to be respectful in service, to inquire when in doubt, to think of difficulties when angry, and to think of righteousness when he sees an advantage'" (Analects, XVI, 10).

As Confucianism remains quite influential in both social and educational programmes in Taiwan, one should not wonder why the Chinese adolescents show such a strong tendency to self-control and an emphasis on social discipline.

7.3 TOWARDS MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

Thus we have, based on the findings of the present research, presented some similarities as well as some differences between the social attitudes of the Scottish and the Chinese adolescents. As is shown, there are no "all or none" characteristics in either cultural group; all those attitudes exist in both groups in different degrees. It is worth pointing out that those attitudes in which greater cultural similarities have been found are the more basic ones, the predisposed set in perceiving other people and in looking at the world. These attitudes seem to be closely tied to the basic human child-parent dependence, or in a sense the biological closeness of a child and his family and are, therefore, more universal. On the other hand, the

attitudes in which more cultural differences have been noticed are mainly those related to the manner of reacting to the outer world. These latter group of attitudes seem to have more to do with how a child is reared, including matters such as feeding and toilet training which may vary in different cultures.

David Hume, a well known Scottish philosopher and historian in the eighteenth century once said: "It is universally acknowledged that there is a great uniformity among the actions of men in all nations and ages and that human nature remains still the same in its principles and operations. The same motives always produce the same actions; the same events follow from the same causes... Mankind is so much the same in all times and places that history informs us of nothing new or strange in this particular." (In Schneider, 1967, p.44). Interestingly enough, these words sound just like an echo to what Confucius said in the East in a much earlier date: "By nature, men are really alike" (Confucian Analects, XVII, 2). With such similar "nature" as a starting point, people should not have much difficulty in learning to understand one another, in learning how to get along with one another, to respect and tolerate other people's reaction patterns which may be different from their own. But we need the belief that this can be done before we will be willing to make the effort of doing it. It is hoped that a research like the present one will give us more confidence in the task of aiming at mutual understanding.

To conclude this report, the author wishes to quote a passage from the last chapter of The Meeting of East and West, a book written by Northrop (1946) who said: "The traditional opposition between the Orient and the Occident, as voiced by Kipling, is removed.

'East is East and West is West
and never the twain shall meet'

... the two civilisations are shown to supplement and reinforce each other. They can meet, not because they are saying the same thing, but because they are expressing yet complementary things, both of which are required for an adequate and true conception

of man's self and his universe. Each can move into the new comprehensive world of the future, proud of its past, and preserving its self-respect. Each also needs the other." And he also made another important remark in the preface of that volume: "The time has come when these ideological conflicts must be faced and, if possible, solved. Otherwise, the social policies, moral ideals, and religious inspirations of men, because of their incompatibility one with another, will continue to generate misunderstanding and war instead of mutual understanding.

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A P P E N D I X

JUDGING THE MEANING OF A CONCEPT

NAME: _____ SEX: _____
 _____ day month year
 SCHOOL YEAR: _____ DATE OF BIRTH: _____

Please read these instructions carefully before you begin. In the following pages you will be asked to judge the meaning of certain things against a series of descriptive scales. When you work on it, please make your judgment on the basis of what these things mean to you. On the following pages, you will find several CONCEPTS to be judged and below each of these concepts there are a set of SCALES. You are to rate the concept on each of these SCALES.

Here is the way of making your ratings, for example:
If you feel that the CONCEPT "My neighbour" is VERY CLOSELY RELATED
to one end of the SCALE, you should place you check-mark as follows:-

nice x : : : : : : awful

or nice : : : : : : x awful

If you feel that the CONCEPT "My neighbour" is QUITE CLOSELY RELATED to one or the other end of the SCALE (but not extremely, you should place your check-mark as follows:-

fair _____ : X : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ unfair

or fair _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : X : _____ unfair

If the CONCEPT seems only SLIGHTLY RELATED to one end as opposed to the other end (but is not really neutral), then you should check like this:

low _____ : _____ : X : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ high

or low _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : X : _____ : _____ high

You can see that the direction toward which you check, of course, depends upon which of the two ends of the scale seem most characteristic of the thing that you are judging.

If you consider the concept to be neutral on the scale, both ends of the scale EQUALLY ASSOCIATED with the CONCEPT, or if the scale is COMPLETELY IRRELEVANT, UNRELATED to the concept, then you should place your check-mark in the middle place: -

easy : : : X : : : difficult

IMPORTANT: (1) Place your check-marks in the MIDDLE of spaces, not like this:-

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ : ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ : ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ : ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ : ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ : ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ :

- (2) Make ONLY ONE check-mark on one scale.
- (3) Be sure you check EVERY SCALE for EVERY CONCEPT.

DO NOT OMIT ANY.

Concept one: "PEOPLE IN GENERAL"

Good	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Bad
Ugly	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Beautiful
Quiet	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Lively
Important	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Unimportant
Happy	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Sad
Powerless	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Powerful
Weak	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Strong
Warm	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Cold
Complicated	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Simple
Friendly	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Hostile

Concept two: "THE WORLD"

Good	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Bad
Ugly	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Beautiful
Quiet	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Lively
Important	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Unimportant
Happy	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Sad
Powerless	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Powerful
Weak	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Strong
Warm	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Cold
Complicated	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Simple
Friendly	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	Hostile

(TURN PAGE OVER AND CONTINUE)*

*(Five CONCEPTS with similar scales are omitted)

A 2: THE SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL (CHINESE)

語 意 評 辨 量 表

姓名 _____ 學號 _____

在這個測驗裏，列舉了一些事物，請按照你自己的意見，將它們分別評定，作法是這樣的：

比如要請你在一個七等級的量尺上評定「你的鄰居」，量尺的一端是「可愛的」，另一端是「可恨的」，中間分爲七等：

可愛的 _____ 可恨的

如果你覺得「你的鄰居」是「十分可愛的」或者是「十分可恨的」，就請在某一端的第一根短線上畫一個「×」。

如：可愛的 × _____ 可恨的

或：可愛的 _____ × 可恨的

倘若你覺得你的鄰居是「相當可愛」或者「相當可恨」的，就請在適當的一端第二短線上畫個「×」。

如：可愛的 _____ × _____ 可恨的

或：可愛的 _____ × _____ 可恨的

若是你覺得你的鄰居「稍微有點可愛」或「稍微有點可恨」，那麼就在某一端的第三根短線上畫一個「×」。

如：可愛的 _____ × _____ 可恨的

或：可愛的 _____ × _____ 可恨的

評定時請完全按照你自己的意思。倘若你覺得你的鄰居既「不怎麼可愛」也「不怎樣可恨」，或者那個評定的量尺不適于評定他，那麼就請在最中央的短線上畫個「×」。

如：可愛的 _____ × _____ 可恨的

或：長 _____ × _____ 短

明白了嗎？請你注意：

1. 每一個量尺上祇能畫一個「×」。
2. 每件事物都要依規定評量，不要空下來。
3. 評定時請按照你現在的想法，不必作太多的考慮。

一、「一般人」

好	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	壞
醜	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	美
文靜	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	活潑
重要	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	不重要
快樂	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	憂愁
沒有權力	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	有權力
弱	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	強
暖	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	冷
複雜	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	簡單
友善的	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	敵對的

二、「這世界」

好	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	壞
醜	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	美
文靜	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	活潑
重要	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	不重要
快樂	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	憂愁
沒有權力	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	有權力
弱	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	強
暖	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	冷
複雜	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	簡單
友善的	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	敵對的

(Five more CONCEPTS with similar scales are omitted)

B1: THE REVISED INCOMPLETE SENTENCE BLANK (ENGLISH)

INCOMPLETE SENTENCE BLANK

Complete the following sentences to express your REAL FEELINGS. Try to do every one. Be sure to make a complete sentence.

1. I like _____
2. The happiest time _____
3. I want to know _____
4. At home _____
5. Boys _____
6. At bedtime _____
7. The best _____
8. What annoys me _____
9. People _____
10. A mother _____
11. I feel _____
12. My greatest fear _____
13. In the lower classes _____
14. I can't _____
15. Sports _____
16. When I was younger _____
17. Other children _____
18. I failed _____
19. Reading _____
20. The future _____

(TURN PAGE OVER AND CONTINUE)

21. I need _____
22. I am best when _____
23. Sometimes _____
24. What pains me _____
25. I hate _____
26. At school _____
27. I am very _____
28. The only trouble _____
29. I wish _____
30. My father _____
31. I secretly _____
32. I _____
33. Dancing _____
34. My greatest worry is _____
35. Most girls _____
36. The kind of person I would like to be _____
37. My nerves _____
38. I regret _____
39. I suffer _____
40. Dating _____
41. My mind _____
42. This test is _____

B.2. Revised Incomplete Sentence Blank (Chinese)

語句完成測驗

國立臺灣師範大學教育心理學系編印

姓名

性別

中華民國

年

月出生

籍貫

現在

學校

年級就讀

請按照你自己的意思，把下列這些語句填充成爲完整的句子，每一句都要做，
不要空下來。

1. 我喜歡

2. 最快樂的時候

3. 我想知道

4. 在家裏

5. 男孩子

6. 臨睡的時候

7. 最好

8. 使我生氣的是

9. 人們

10. 一個母親

11. 我覺得

12. 我最大的恐懼是

13. 在中學的時候

14. 我不能

15. 運動

16. 當我年紀小的時候

17. 別的小孩

18. 我沒有能

19. 看 書
20. 將來的日子
21. 我 需 要
22. 我最棒的時候是
23. 有 時
24. 使我痛苦的是
25. 我 恨
26. 在學校裏
27. 我是個很
28. 唯一的困難
29. 我 希 望
30. 我的父親
31. 我秘密地
32. 我
33. 跳 舞
34. 我最大的憂慮是
35. 多數女孩子
36. 我想成爲一個 的人。
37. 我的神經
38. 使我引爲遺憾。
39. 我 遭 受
40. 我的頭腦
41. 和異性朋友約會
42. 這個測驗

C 1: THE RECORDING FORMS FOR THE TAT STORIES (ENGLISH)

TEST OF CREATIVE IMAGINATION

NAME: _____

SEX: _____

DATE OF BIRTH: _____

SCHOOL YEAR : _____

INSTRUCTION:

This is a test of creative imagination.

I am going to show you some pictures, one at a time. You will have about 20 minutes to look at the picture and then you are to write a story about it. Each story is to be written on one page of this booklet. When you write your story, you are supposed to cover the following four questions:

1. What is happening? Who are the persons (if any)?
2. What has led to the situation? That is, what has happened in the past?
3. What is being thought? What is wanted? By whom?
4. What will happen afterwards? What will be done?

These questions will guide your thinking and enable you to cover all the elements of a good story. You should plan to spend about 75 seconds for each question, and so altogether you have about 5 minutes for a story. I shall keep the time for you and tell you when you should move on to the next question.

Obviously, there are no right or wrong answers for any of the pictures, so you may feel free to make any kind of story you like. (Your teachers are not going to read your stories). Please try to make your stories vivid, dramatic and interesting; for this is a test of creative imagination. Do not worry too much about your spelling or grammar, just do the best you can. If you need more space for any part of your story, you may use the other side of that page.

STORY for PICTURE 1.

1. What is happening? Who are the persons?

.....

2. What had led to the situation? That is, what has happened in the past?

.....

3. What is being thought? What is wanted? By whom?

.....

4. What will happen afterwards? What will be done?

.....

(Three more similar recording sheets are omitted)

C 2: The recording forms for the TAT stories (chinese)

想像能力測驗

在這個測驗裡,我要請你們看一些圖片,每次看一張,你可以看大約二十秒鐘,然後根據圖片的內容,編寫一個故事,寫在這本小冊子上,每頁寫一個故事,你在編故事的時候,要設法回答下面這些問題:

1. 圖片所顯示的是怎麼回事?有些什麼人物?
2. 過去發生了什麼事情?為什麼會造成這個局面?
3. 這些人在想什麼?他們要做什么?
4. 將來會有什麼結果?

這些問題可以幫助你編一個完整的故事,你可以估計大約用七十五秒鐘回答每一個問題,這樣就等于有五分鐘寫一個故事,你們不必看錶,我會替你們計時,每分鐘給你們報告時間。

這些圖片並沒有固定的答案,所以你編的故事,無所謂「對」或「不對」,你可以完全照自己的意思來編寫,你們的老師是不會看這些故事的,因為這是想像能力測驗,所以你的故事編得愈新奇,愈生動,愈有趣味,也就愈好,如果你有什麼字不會寫,可以用同音字或注音符號替代。

大家明白了嗎?

想像能力測驗記錄

國立臺灣師範大學教育心理學系編印

姓名_____性別_____中華民國_____年_____月出生

第一頁 (參看第一圖) 籍貫_____現在_____學校_____年級就讀

1. 圖片中所顯示的是怎麼回事？有些什麼人物？

2. 過去發生了什麼事情？為什麼會造成這個局面？

3. 這些人在想些什麼？他們要做什么？

4. 將來會有什麼結果？
